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EDITED BY

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GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPhist FOR INDIA.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXII.



No. 1.—THE TEXT OF THE SOHGAURA PLATE.

By K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, PATNA.

1. The Sohgaūrā plate¹ discovered in 1894 in the district of Gorakhpur and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. Hoey, is one of the undoubted pre-Aśōkan documents. Fleet, R. D. Banerji, and myself have had occasions to comment on the age of the writing.² In Dr. Fleet's opinion, it could even be placed earlier than 320 B.C. :

"The standard of the Brāhmī characters of the inscription refers it to at any rate an early date in the Maurya period, B. C. 320 to about 180; and the method of spelling presented in it, along with the use of those characters and the general style of the record, would justify our placing it even before that time."

—*JRAS.* 1907, p. 509.

2. The inscription, however, has not been solved. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar impressed on me the necessity of giving my attention to it. The discovery of the Mahāsthān stone which has now been edited in this journal (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 83 ff.), made it necessary to refer to this document. It seems that the reading can be made out now with some certainty.

3. The illustrations are in *JRAS.* 1907, plate facing p. 510—the Asiatic Society's photograph and Sir George Grierson's electrotpe copy. It will be seen that the small-sized *k*'s on the Mahāsthān stone and those in our plate agree in shape; and so do the peculiar *m* forms (Mahāsthān, line 2) which are not found in Aśōka inscriptions. This *m* is also found on a Patna glass seal.³ Both Sohgaūrā and Mahāsthān records have as their subject-matter *koṭhāgāla* (*kōshṭh-āgāra*) which is used in the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra as a technical term for state store-houses for keeping *dravya* and grains (*Aś.*, chs. 36, 37; pp. 93, 99, 1st ed.) and refer to *ātyayika* [distress].

4. The Sohgaūrā plate was cast into several copies and is a public placard issued by the Council of Ministers of Śrāvastī, and is a document, relating to famine relief measures. It reads :

¹ References : 1894, *Bengal Asiatic Society's Proceedings*, pp. 84 ff. (V. Smith and Hörnle); 1896, *Ind. Ant.*, 261 (Bühler); 1907, *JRAS.*, 509 (Fleet).

² *JBORS.*, VI, 203. The date assigned there is c. 300 B.C.

³ *JBORS.*, X, 189, 192.

TEXT.

- 1 Savastiyāna¹ Mahāmātan sāśane Manavasiti- ka-
- 2 dā² (.) s[ī] li-māte³ usāgame 'va ete dave koṭhāgalāni.
- 3 Tī[ya]veni-Māthula- Chachu- Modāma- Bhalakāna chha-
- 4 li-kaiyati (;) atiyāyikāya no gahimtavayo (.)

TRANSLATION.

The order of the Mahāmātras of Śrāvastī (issued) from the Manavasiti camp.

Only to the tenants, only on the advent of drought, these (the) *dravya* store-houses of Trivēṇī, Mathurā, Chañchu, Mōdāma⁴, and Bhadra are to be distributed (discharged); in case of distress they are not to be withheld.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXT.

Line 1. The third character is a ligature. There is a defect in the surface which produces a cut in the loop of the *s* and the leg of the *t* above it (see the first photograph). The ligature is indicated by breaking off the perpendicular line before joining to it the legs of the *s*, which may be compared with the normal *s* of lines 1 and 2.

Mahāmātana.—The long *ā* mark to the *h* is in the middle of the perpendicular line. The *t* is of the stunted variety, with a suggestion of a projecting bar, just as in the *t* of the last line in *gahimtavayo*.

Sāsane. There is probably a suggestion of a long *mātrā* to the first *s* in the electrotpe.

Line 2. For the long vowel in *dā* of *Manavasiti-kaḍā* see the electrotpe.

Silimāte. *Sīlī* stands for Sanskrit *sīrin*; *sira*, 'plough'; Hindi *sīr*, 'cultivation'; *sīrin* 'a tenant' 'a cultivator.' *Māte*=*mātre*.

Us-āgame: the *e*-mark to *m* is absolutely certain; and the *ā*-force to *s* (in the middle of the bar) is also certain in the electroplate. The expression stands for *uss-āgame*= Sanskrit *ushmā-gamē*.

Dave: the lower limb of *d* is blurred. As the store-houses were evidently more than two, it is not advisable to read the word as *duve*. It seems to be connected with the technical term of the Maurya period *dravya* in connection with Government Stores, e.g., *dravya-pāla* (*Arthaśāstra*, ch. 38).

Line 3. *Tiyaveni* is a clear reading. The photograph shows *Māthule*, but the electrotpe *Māthula*. The long vowel to *k* in *Bhalakāna* can be seen in the photograph, though it is faint.

Line 4. The *i*-mark to *l* in *chhali*, is faint. *Chhali*=Sanskrit *ksharī*⁵; *chhali-kaiyati*, 'to be spent', 'to be discharged'. *Chha* was misread by Fleet as *va*. There is a straight bisecting line in the circle. Bühler read it correctly.

LOCALITIES.

Trivēṇī, Mathurā, Chañchu, Mōdāma and Bhadra must have been in the Kōśala Province, of which Śrāvastī was the capital. This Mathurā, therefore, is not the Mathurā of the Śūrasēnas but a town or village somewhere in Oudh, Gorakhpur or Champaran. We have an important village *Mathuliya* in Champaran. Chañchu (Ghāzipur)⁶ could be within the jurisdiction of the

¹ Ligature *stī*: the right leg of *t* touches the bar of *yā*.

² *ā*-vowel-mark is traceable in both photographs.

³ There seems to be a long *i* to *s*, and to *l*. See electrotpe.


⁴ If it be taken as an adjectival form like *Māthula*, the place-name would be *Mudāma*.

⁵ *Kshar* (क्षर), to pour cut, to flow, to dissolve or dissipate.

⁶ *JRAS.*, 1907, 525.

provincial government of Śrāvastī, as the district of Gorakhpur was; but more likely it was another place between *Trivēṇī* (*ghāt*) and *Bhadra*—between the districts of Gorakhpur and Champaran or thereabout. Nothing is known about *Mōdāma* or *Mudāma*. *Bhadra* (*Bhalla*) was a common name. *Manavasiti* (*Mānavaśiti*) is to be looked for in the *Tarāi*. Its name shows that it was a cool resort.

THE SOHGAURA AND KUMHRAR PILLAR SYMBOLS.

Amongst the symbols the moon (*Chandra*) placed on a hill-like combination and next to it the large *Mo* (like the *ms* in the inscription—in two separate parts) denote an imperial monogram for **Chandra**[*gupta*]**M**[*aurya*]. We have the same moon symbol on the Kumhrar pillar [*ASR.*, 1912-13, p. 78, pl. XLIX] where it certainly means '*Chandragupta*'. The hill-like combination stands for **gutta** ; the upper loop is *g* and the lower loops are *tta*, and on the top of the combination stands *chanda* or *chandra*. This monogrammatic method of writing is what is called *Śilpa-lipi* (i.e., *art-writing*) in the text cited by Dr. Hirananda Sastri (*Proceedings and Transactions of the 6th Indian Oriental Conference*, p. 11). It will be seen from the plate published in the *A.S.R.* that in the centre, by the side of the central dot, there is the symbol for **Chandagutta**, then there is an abrasion in the stone (which I have examined and seen on the actual stone), then opposite there is in a somewhat cursive hand three letters—reading from right to left—'*Moriya*'. This along with the symbol reads: '**Moriya-Chandagutta**.' That Chandragupta Maurya had his royal monogram is clear from the *Kaṭaliya Arthaś-*, ch. 50, p. 129 [*'rājāṅka*' branded on royal animals] and ch. 93, p. 249 [*'narēndrāṅka*' engraved on weapons and armours for the use of soldiers].¹

The *Mo* on the Sohgaura plate is to the right of the monogram. For the full form of the *o*-force, see electrotype.

The two trees probably signify the drought stage from leafsome to leafless, and the houses for stores.

THE DATE.

Apart from the monogram, the date is to be gathered from certain circumstances. At the time, Śrāvastī was under a Council of Mahāmātras. This will be true of the Nanda and Maurya times when Kōsala was reduced to the position of a province of the Magadhan empire. The lettering will show an age about a century before Aśoka. The document indicates that extensive measures were adopted by the State to meet threatened or repeated droughts, and the measures were largely advertised for the information of the public. This and the Māhāsthān tablet seem to be contemporary documents of the reign of **Chandra-gupta Maurya** when repeated droughts occurred, according to the Jaina theological history. Both Sohgaura and Mahāsthān inscriptions refer to '*atīyāyika*' circumstances.

¹ I reserve a fuller discussion on the Kumhrar pillar for a separate paper. It is sufficient to note here that the circles denote the plan of this pillar. My brother Mr. U. S. Jayaswal, who is an engineer by profession, without knowing anything of the actual position of the pillar said that it should be the 8th pillar in the third row according to these 'erection marks'. This agrees to the letter on Dr. Spooner's plan (XLI, p. 69). The sectional plan to the right on the pillar and its circles for the pillars and three lines before the letter *mū* constitute a copy of Dr. Spooner's plan of a group of 8 pillars on the site, reckoning it facing south where the main gate stood. What Dr. Spooner took to be Persian symbols are simply the direction for erection, noting '*mūkha*' 'face' — 'gate'. *Mū* and *kha* (or, *kho*) cover the whole of the sectional plan. The letters by the circles read (left to right) "*lhabbha* ; 3 ; 3."

No. 2.—SHELL CHARACTER ROCK INSCRIPTION AT CI-ARUTÖN (JAVA).

By K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, PATNA.

A cursive and florid writing has been found in various places in India. I have seen it in the rock-cut cave-house at Khandgiri in the so-called Lalāta Kēsari Gumphā; at the door of the Gupta or pre-Gupta temple standing at Tigawān; at Rājgir; at Patna, etc.; and one text repeated several times at Rāmtek (Nagpur) has been brought to light by Dr. Turner¹. Uptil now it has been called "Shell characters" or Śaṅkha writing owing to the cursive forms of letters which resemble a conch-shell.²

Lately I had to study the "box-headed" writing of the Javanese inscriptions which have been edited by Dr. Vogel under the title *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java in Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandisch-Indie*, Deel I (Weltevreden, 1925). A Shell inscription is engraved at Ci-Arutön below the foot-prints of King Pūrṇavarman. The toes of the king are represented to have had lotus-marks, the auspicious *lakṣhaṇa* (marks), which have been taken by several Dutch scholars to be a representation of "spiders". The whole purpose of the inscription is to emphasise this *sānudrika lakṣhaṇa*.

The main inscription is in box-headed letters of the Vākāṭaka type, which has been accurately read by Dr. Vogel (p. 22) as follows:—

- 1 Vikkrāntasy-āvanipatēḥ
- 2 Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇavarmanah
- 3 Tārūma-nagar-ēndrasya
- 4 Viṣṇōr=iva pada-dvayam.

Plate 28 of Dr. Vogel's book which is reproduced here gives the facsimile of the foot-prints and the inscriptions in shell and box-headed letters.

It is evident that the two inscriptions are contemporary with the foot-prints (*pādukā*). It was to record the description of the foot-marks that the inscriptions were engraved. The shell writing was drawn first and then the "box-headed" one. This is apparent from the position of the two inscriptions. The loop of the first letter of the shell line caused a little slanting of the box-headed lines. The shell line is just below the *pādukā* and occupies a more prominent position.

On the evening of the 14th April (1933) I placed the plate before my learned friend Dr. Hirananda Sastri with my view that here was a bi-scriptory writing, and that it was possible to solve the shell record with the help of the box-headed record which gives the purpose of the inscription. Dr. Hirananda Sastri³ agreed with that view. I now place my reading before scholars.

The line opens with *Śrī*, placed just between the two large toes, and reads ŚRĪ PŪRṆN-VARMAṆAH. It may be noticed that three ṇs are the same in shape.

The writing is very likely the *Paushkarasādiya*, one of the three main *lipis* of Northern India mentioned in Buddhist books (Bühler, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 2). The shell writing

¹ J. B. O. R. S., 1933, Dec. issue.

² Cunningham finding it mostly on Gupta monuments thought that the writing arose in Gupta times (*R.*, VIII, p. 129). But this is disproved by Silaharā cave inscriptions (of Rewah) where it is associated with contemporary writing of C. 100 A. D.—*A. S. R.*, 1927-28, p. 138. I have examined the latter, and one of them seems to give the same donor's name as the Brāhmī lines.

³ [Mr. Jayaswal's reading seems to be plausible, but till we have examined all the known inscriptions in this curious script we should treat it as a working hypothesis—H. S.]

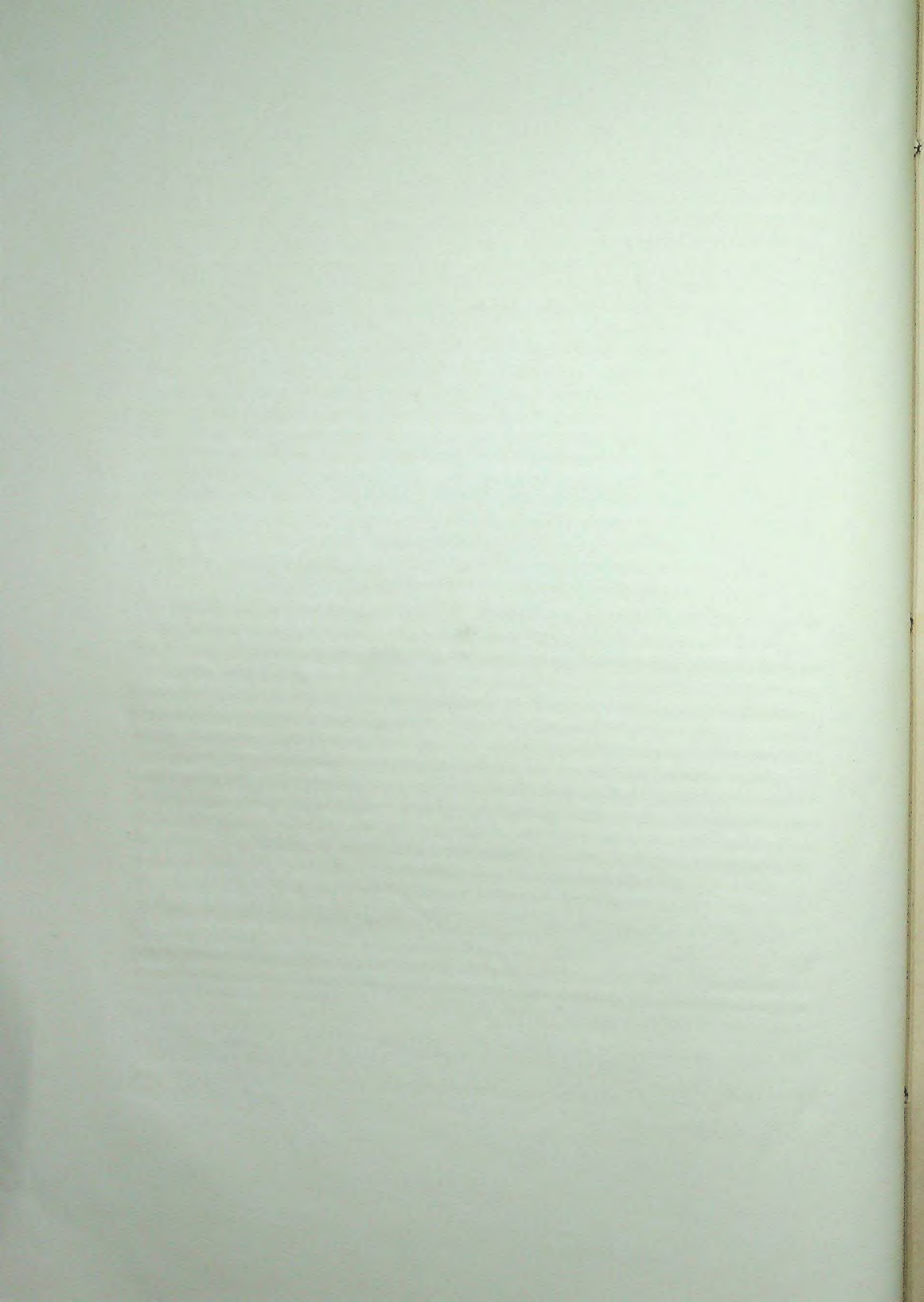
Rock Inscription at Cĭ-Arūtōn (Java).



REPRODUCED FROM DR. J. PH. VOGEL'S EARLIEST SANSKRIT
INSCRIPTIONS OF JAVA.

MR. K. P. JAYASWAL'S CHART.

FROM PHOTOGRAPH.	FROM ESTAMPAGE.	VALUES.
		śrī
		pūr
		ṇ
		na, ṇaḥ
		va
		rma



has been always found in Northern India, and its present instances are found on certainly Guptan monuments; the Rājgir writings on the road may be much earlier. Its cursive form shows that it was a non-monumental, i.e., book writing. The *virāma* sign below *ṇ* in our inscription has its descent in the modern Nāgarī and Bengali scripts. The system is purely Hindu; the forms, though different, have basic unity with Brāhmī forms. It seems that Pushkaraādi with whose personal name the system is associated, invented the system from Brāhmī. A modern example of a similar type of invention is Gurumukhī. The head of each letter in our inscription is headed with a line as in Nāgarī, Bengali and other modern Aryan scripts of the north. This would have arisen in book-writing with pen-and-ink, to keep a straight line in view. The flourishes of long looped vowel-signs and rounded forms of the letters also point to the system of pen-and-ink.

The *v* in our inscription is almost identical with the Brāhmī letter; *p* has a loop to the left instead of to the right, which would denote an earlier origin when *p* was written both ways. The superscript *i* vowel-mark is doubled to denote a long sound. The *m* here has only one arm of the Brāhmī *m* instead of two. The *ṇ* form is entirely unconnected. The *ś* is somewhat unconnected, it resembles remotely the Brāhmī form turned upside down. The superscript and subscript *r* has the same form as in Brāhmī. The double *ī* mark resembles the Brāhmī system of the fourth century A.D. The mark for *visarga* on the top of the last *ṇa* resembles a half form of the *jihvāmūlīya* sign of the Brāhmī. The origin of the script would go back to B.C. centuries owing to the forms of *p* and *ś* and the unconnected form of *ṇ*. The *mātrās* would have been influenced in their development by the general system which we find in Brāhmī.

A NOTE ON PĀDUKĀS.

The custom of giving *pādukās* still survives in India. The Jainas have throughout set up *pādukās* to their Āchāryas. Sannyāsin *maṭhas* still make such memorials to their Mahants. In every case they are memorials to dead personages. The custom survives among Rengāl Hindus, where the dead *guru-jana*'s foot-prints are taken on a piece of paper after besmearing the soles with lac-dye (*āltā*—Skt. *alakṭa*), whereby actual prints are reproduced. These prints are preserved.

Pūrṇavarman's foot-prints have given rise to various speculations amongst the Dutch scholars. Dr. Vogel has rightly pointed out (p. 25) that the other foot-prints of the king at Jambu were engraved on the place of cremation. The wording of the inscription indicates that the foot-prints were engraved after the king's death (*yaḥ purā Tārumay(ā)m nāmnā śrī-Pūrṇavarmanmā*). Similarly the Ci-Arutön inscription is to be taken as an after-death memorial, engraved probably at the place of the Śrāddha. There is no justification in the text to regard it as a dedication to a living man as taken by the Dutch scholars. It was not for worship, and it was not worshipped in his life-time.¹

No. 3.—MANUR INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.

[BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

Māṇūr is a village in the Tinnevely district about nine miles from Tinnevely on the road to Saṅkaranayinārkōyil. On one of the pillars in the Ambalavāṇasvāmin temple of this village is

¹ The foot-prints of his elephant (p. 27) Jayaviśāla (which is the name of the animal) is a memorial to his favourite *vāhana*, and must have been engraved after its death.

Piṅgalam gives for the word *āvaṇam* the meaning of 'right (to property).' Speaking generally, *śrāvaṇai* like *āvaṇam* may be taken to denote right to property, and '*śrāvaṇai puḡu*' to mean, 'to enter upon and exercise the right of ownership'. The words *kachcham*¹ (agreement) and *kutukkāl* (obstruction) may also be noted as perhaps interesting colloquialisms of the time.

The object of the inscription is to record a resolution of the *sabhā* of *Māṇilainallūr*. The resolution is called *vyavasthai* in Sanskrit, and *kachcham* in Tamil. The resolution fixed the procedure to be followed in future meetings of the *sabhā* by laying down the minimum qualifications in terms of property, education and character, that would entitle persons to take part in the work of the *sabhā*. It also stated that no kind of *vāriyam* was to be assigned to a person who did not possess a full share in the lands of the village. This is one of the earliest uses of the term *vāriyam* known to South Indian Epigraphy. The *Ambāsamudram* inscription of the sixteenth year of Varaguna-Mahārāja mentions the *vāriyar* of the *sabhā* of *ḷaṅgōkkuḍi*. It is not easy to decide if these terms in these Pāṇḍya records refer to committees of the assembly in the same manner as the *Uttaramērūr* inscriptions of Chōḷa Parāntaka I belonging to a later century and another part of the country. It is not improbable that the earlier records only imply the choice of particular individuals for the performance of specified tasks, and that the *vāriyar* were individual officers carrying out the orders of the *sabhā* rather than an executive committee with wide discretionary powers such as the committees of *Uttaramērūr* undoubtedly were.² However that may be, it is clear that the present resolution of the *sabhā* of *Māṇilainallūr* forbade any responsible executive duties being entrusted in the future to persons who did not satisfy a minimum property qualification. Lastly, the resolution lays down the penalty of a fine of five *kāṣus* per head for failure to observe its terms and for wilful obstruction, and avers that, even after the penalty is enforced, the original terms of the resolution shall be acted upon.

This inscription is unique in the insight it gives into the actual working of the autonomous village assembly in *brahmadēya* villages under the early Pāṇḍyas. The existence of such *sabhās* is known from other records of the time like the *Ambāsamudram* inscription mentioned above, and an inscription from *Tiruchchendūr*.³ But the inscription edited here is the only early Pāṇḍya inscription giving particulars of the constitution and working of the *sabhā*. A meeting of the general body is summoned by the beating of a large drum—*peruṅguri śārri* (ll. 9-10)⁴. The assembly, *mahāsabhā*, met at the stated hour in a public place fixed beforehand,—here it was *Gōvardhana*,⁵ apparently signifying a Vishṇu temple of which there seem to be almost no traces left at present.⁶ The rules made on this occasion by this *sabhā* show that while in the assembly, generally speaking, all land-owners were represented, still an active part in the deliberations of the assembly was allowed only to those persons the extent of whose property did not fall below a prescribed minimum and who, in addition, had attained a certain standard of education and possessed good character. The work of the assembly when it was not in session, including the carrying out of its decisions in particular matters, was apparently entrusted to *vāriyar* of its choice. Of the number and duties of the *vāriyar*, we derive no knowledge from the inscriptions of the time.

¹ Kittel notes in his Kanarese-English Dictionary that Kan. *kajja* is a derivative of Skt. *kārya*, and our *kachcham* may be the same word in another form. The expression *vilai-pramāṇak-kachchatta* occurs in *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. I, No. 52, l. 4.

² See my *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, pp. 82-3; 133-134.

³ No. 26 of 1912 and No. 156 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

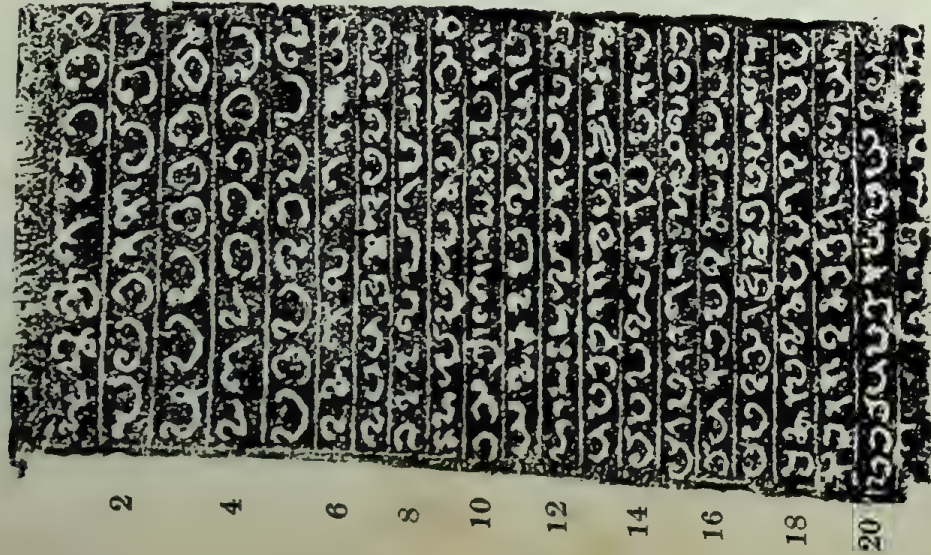
⁴ A Chōḷa inscription (103 of 1897) has the phrase: *dharmi-yūḍip-peruṅguri koḷḷi*.

⁵ Cf. 64 of 1898 from *Uttaramērūr* saying: *emmūr śrī-gōvardhanattu Mahāviṣṇukaḷukku*.

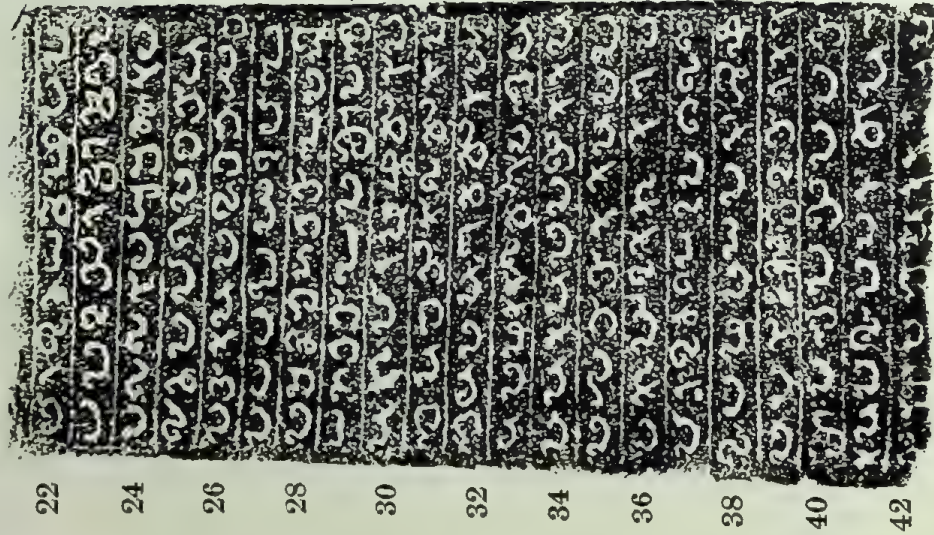
⁶ "The foundations of a few old buildings may be traced in the paddy fields to the west of the village, but it is now impossible to account for the 1008 Brahman houses which, according to a local belief, once existed on the site."—*Tinnevely Gazetteer*, p. 476.

MANUR INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.

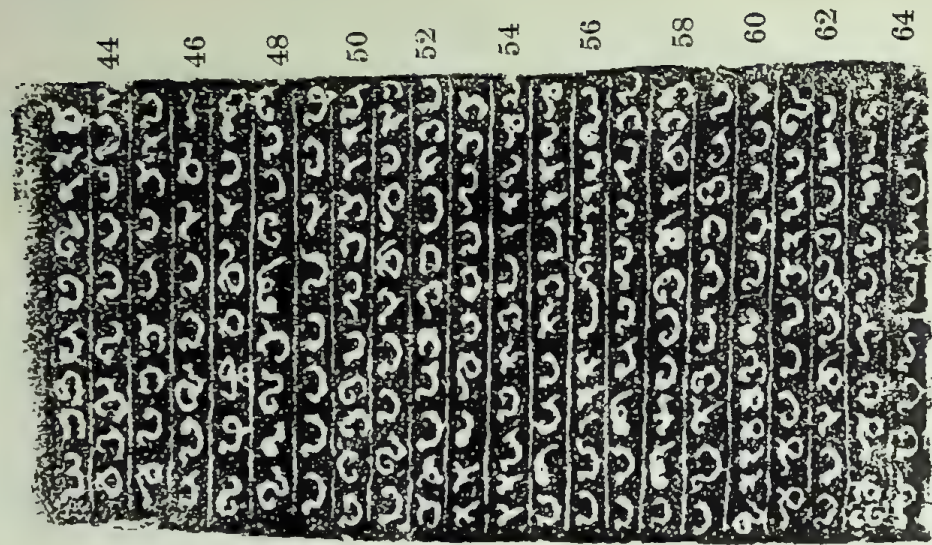
First Side.



Second Side.



Third Side.



Of the geographical data supplied by the inscription, *Māṇanilainallūr* is obviously the present *Mānūr*. The *nāḍu* in which this place was located bore the name *Kaḷakkūḍi*. Other places in *Kaḷakkūḍi-nāḍu* mentioned in the inscriptions are *Karuvānallūr*,¹ seven miles to the north of *Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil*, and *Karavandapuram*,² which seems to have had the alternative name of *Kaḷakkūḍi* as can be inferred from the *Āṇaimalai* inscriptions.³ It has been suggested that *Kaḷakkūḍi* might be identical with the modern village of *Kaḷakkāḍu* in the *Nāṅgunēri Tāluk*.⁴ Considering that the *nāḍu* extended to the north beyond *Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil*, it may be doubted if *Kaḷakkūḍi-Karavandapura* could be the same as *Kaḷakkāḍu*, too far south in the *Nāṅgunēri Tāluk*. *Ambāsamudram* and *Śērmādēvi* to the north of *Kaḷakkāḍu* were part of *Muḷli-nāḍu*, and *Kaḷakkāḍu* is itself said to have been in the *Vānavaṇ-nāḍu*, in a record of a later date.⁵ There is a village called *Kaḷakkūḍi* in the *Tinnevely Taluk* itself, which may possibly have been the headquarters of the *nāḍu*.

TEXT.

First side.

- 1 Svasti śrī || Kō Māraṇja-
- 2 ḍaiyaṛkku yāṇḍu
- 3 muppattaṇju
- 4 nāl nāṇ-nūṛṛ-aṇu-
- 5 pattu-oṇbaḍu i-
- 6 n-nālāl Kaḷak[ku]ḍi-
- 7 nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Māṇa-
- 8 [ni]lainallūr māhāsa-⁶
- 9 bhaiyōm peruṅguri śā-
- 10 rri śrī-Gōva[r*]ddhanattu-kkū-
- 11 ḍi irundu ivv=ūr mā-⁶
- 12 hāsabhaiyōm kuḍi⁷ maṇṇā-
- 13 ḍuvadaṇukku śeyda vyavastai-
- 14 y=āvaḍu ivv=ur⁸ paṅguḍai-
- 15 yār makkaḷ sabhaiyil maṇ-
- 16 rāḍukirāḍu oru dha[r*]ma[m*]-uṭpa-
- 17 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam vallār su-
- 18 vṛittar=āy iruppārē oru paṇ-
- 19 giṇṇūkkū⁹ oruttarē sabhaiyil
- 20 maṇṇāḍuvadāgavum vilaiyum
- 21 [pratigrahamum stri-dhanamum-uḍai-]¹⁰

Second side.

- 22 yār oru dhanmam=uppa¹¹
- 23 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam

¹ No. 424 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 418 of 1906 of the same collection.

³ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 318 and n. 8.

⁴ No. 130 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Read *kūḍi*. The suggestion may be made that *kuḍi-maṇṇāḍu* means: 'deliberate on the affairs of the village'; but there is no other instance of such usage.

⁶ Read: *ivv-ūr*.

⁷ Read *ṇukku*.

⁸ Conjectural reading based on l. 28 below.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Read *maḥā*.

¹¹ Read *uṭpaḍa*.

- 24 vallaṛ=āy suvri(ṛi)ttar=āy
 25 iruppārē maṇṇāḍu-
 26 vadāgavum idaṇ=mēr¹-
 27 paṭṭadu vilaiyālu-
 28 m pratigrahattālum sti-²
 29 dhanattālum śrāvaṇai
 30 puguvār muḷu śīrāva-
 31 nai aṇṇi kāl śīrāva-
 32 naiyum araich=chirāvaṇai-
 33 yum mukkaḷ śīrāvaṇaiyu-
 34 m pugavum paṇikkavu-
 35 m peṛādā[r=ā]gavum pa-
 36 ṇḡu vilaikku kolpa-
 37 vār³ oru vēdam ell[ā]
 38 iḍamum sa-pariśiśh[t]a-
 39 m pariḷshai tandārkkē
 40 śrāvaṇai paṇippadā-
 41 gavum ip=pariśu aṇ-
 42 ṛi śrāvaṇai pukkāraiym

Third side.

- 43 piṇṇaiym ik=kach-
 44 chattil paṭṭa-pari-
 45 śē maṇṇāḍuvadāga(v)-
 46 vum ip=pariśiṇā-
 47 l muḷuch=chirāvaṇai
 48 illādārai evvagai-
 49 ppaṭṭa vāriyamu-
 50 m ēṇṇapperādār⁴=āgavu-
 51 m ip=pariśu śeygiṇ-
 52 ṛārum aṇṇēṇṇu kuttu-
 53 kkāl śeyyapperādā⁵-
 54 r=āgavum kuttukkāl śey-
 55 vāraiym kuttukkāl śe-
 56 vvārkkū⁶ uṇavāyudani⁷-
 57 ppāraiym vevvēṇṇu-
 58 vagai aiyyaṇṇu k[ā]śu taṇ-
 59 ḍaṇ-gonḍu piṇṇaiym
 60 ik=kachcha[t*]til paṭṭa-pari-
 61 śē śeyv(v)adāgavum i-
 62 p=pariśu paṇittu vyava-

¹ ṛ looks like ṇ.

² Read *strī*.

³ Read *var*. [The impression reads *ko(v)ār*—Ed.]

⁴ *ṛṛa* looks like *ṛaṇa*; cf. *ṛa* in *māṇu* in l. 1. Likewise *ṛā* and *dā* look much alike.

⁵ *ṛā* and *dā* look alike.

⁶ Read *śeyvārkkū*.

⁷ This reading is doubtful. Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari suggests that it may be read as *upō[kam]*—in the sense of *upōka*; and that *upōham-nippār* may be rendered as those standing by or near, i.e., abettors.

63 stai śeydōm mahāsabhāi-
64 yōm mahāsabhaiyār [pa]¹

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-14. Hail ! Prosperity ! the year thirty-five, and day four hundred and sixty-nine of (the reign of) King Mārañjadaiyaṇ,—on this day, we, (the members of) the mahāsabhā of Māṇanilainallūr, a brahmadēya in Kaḷakkuḷi-nāḍu, having proclaimed a general body meeting by beat of drum ; and, having assembled in the sacred Gōvardhana, made the following resolution (*vyavasthai*) for conducting deliberations in the meetings of the mahāsabhā of this village :

Ll. 14-20. In the matter of the share-holders of this village taking part in the deliberations of the assembly, only those who are conversant with *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* inclusive of one *Dharma* and are of good conduct shall take part in the discussions of the *sabhā*, only one person (*representing*) a share ;

Ll. 20-26. of those who own (*shares*) by purchase gift or dowry, only such as are conversant with *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* inclusive of one *Dharma* and are of good conduct shall take part in the deliberations ;

Ll. 26-35. in the future, those who exercise their right of property (*śrāvaṇai-puguvār*) (*acquired*) by purchase, gift or dowry, shall not, except by (*possessing*) full *śrāvaṇai*, exercise their right and vote² (*merely*) in virtue of a quarter, half or three-quarters of a *śrāvaṇai* ;

Ll. 35-45. among those who acquire shares by purchase, the *śrāvaṇai* shall be awarded only to such as have passed an examination in an entire Vēda together with the *Parīśiṣṭa* ; and those who enter upon a *śrāvaṇai*, by means other than the above, shall take part in the discussions in accordance with the terms of this settlement (*kachcham*) ;

Ll. 46-51. in virtue of this arrangement, those who do not possess a full *śrāvaṇai* shall not be selected to any kind of *vāriyam* ;

Ll. 51-61. those who abide³ by this agreement shall not say ' nay ' and cause any obstruction (*to this arrangement*) ; those who cause obstruction and those who abet the obstructionists⁴ shall be fined five *kāśus* each, and even thereafter, the terms of this resolution (*kachcham*) shall be strictly observed.

Ll. 61-64. We, the members of the mahāsabhā ordered in this wise and made this settlement. The members of the mahāsabhā.....

No. 4 KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTION ON A BEGRAM BAS-RELIEF.

By STEN KONOW, PH.D., OSLO.

Bēgrām, on the confluence of the Ghorband and Panjshīr rivers, has been identified with ancient Kāpiśī.⁵ The site has been explored by French archæologists, and M. Barthou has, *inter alia*, unearthed a damaged sculpture in bas-relief,⁶ which has been interpreted as representing the Buddha's first interview with Bimbisāra or the invitation to preach addressed to Bhagavat by Brahmā and Indra. Gotama, with a moustache, is seated on a throne, raising the right hand in the *varada-mudrā* and resting the left, which is mutilated, on the lap. To the right stands

¹ The continuation on the fourth face seems to be built in.

² The word *pañikkavum* in the context is not easy. I have taken it to mean ' declare one's opinion,' ' vote.'

³ The expression *ipparīṣu śeygiṭṭārum* (ll. 51:2) is vague, but obviously it must refer to the persons who enter on *śrāvaṇai* in an irregular manner, without passing the examination, and are left out of account for the *vāriyam*.

⁴ Lit. " Stand in intimate relation with those who cause obstruction."

⁵ Cf. A. Foucher, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, pp. 341 ff.

⁶ J. Hackin, *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au musée Guimet*, Paris 1931, Pl. XI.

a person in royal attire, raising his hands in supplication, and to the left a somewhat defaced figure, in the same attitude, but apparently not a royal personage. In the background we see a Vajrapāṇi to the left, and another person to the right, and outside the group, to the right, is still another person, according to M. Hackin perhaps a monk. The height of the sculpture is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Under the sculpture is an inscription in Kharōṣṭhī letters. The right-hand portion of the base is abraded, and the beginning of the record is therefore irreparably lost. If the whole base was utilized, we may reckon that approximately twenty *aksharas* have disappeared.

What has been preserved covers a space $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with twenty-four letters, each about $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high. Professor Thomas has published his reading of the record from M. Hackin's plate, where, however, the last *aksharas* are defaced.¹

I am indebted to M. Hackin for graciously allowing me to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and to the authorities of the musée Guimet for kindly providing me with excellent photographs, from which the plate accompanying this article has been prepared.

Our inscription is the first Kharōṣṭhī record which has been found in, or in the neighbourhood of, ancient Kāpisi. The excellent execution of the characters, however, shows that they are due to an experienced engraver, and we have no reason for doubting that Kharōṣṭhī was in common use in Kāpisi and in the other towns along the old highroad to India, *via* Nagarāhāra and Pushkarāvati.

According to M. Hackin, Professor Mironov has examined the Bēgrām epigraph and come to the result that certain cursive and late characters remind us of the Kharōṣṭhī documents from Niya, and that we must, consequently, think of a date towards the end of the Kushāṇa period, at least not earlier than Huviṣka. This estimate cannot be far from the truth, though I cannot see any special resemblance to the Niya alphabet.

A priori we should be inclined to look for parallels to the characters of our record in inscriptions from places such as Wardak, Bīmarān, Haḍḍā and ancient Pushkarāvati, and though the materials at our disposal are limited, our search will not be quite in vain. The *ma*, with the tops bent slightly inwards, has its parallel on the Hashtnagar pedestal, where we also find forms of *da* and *pa* of the same kind as in our record. The angular *e*, with the *e*-stroke at the bottom, has exact parallels in Wardak, and also in Ārā, Naugrām, and Jauliā. *Ta* has an ancient shape, but the long *tu* reminds us of Wardak. *Ya* has its parallels on the Kanishka and Kurram caskets, and *ha* has the same shape as in Wardak. *Ṣa* is peculiar, the right-hand bar being shortened and bent backwards. Generally speaking, however, the characters make the impression of being traditional and little characteristic. They are perhaps somewhat later than the Haḍḍā inscription of the year 28, and earlier than the Mamāne Dherī pedestal of the year 89, though the highly cursive ductus of the last-mentioned epigraph makes it difficult to make any use of it for chronological purposes.

One of the characters occurring in our record is peculiar. The last word but one is evidently meant to be *pituno*. The first syllable is not, however, written in the usual way. Instead of the ordinary *pa* with the *i*-stroke we have *pa* with a St. Andrew's cross at the end of the stem.

The same sign has been found by Professor Rapson² in some few instances in the Kharōṣṭhī documents recovered at Niya in Chinese Turkestan, where it is used in words such as *alpa*, *śilpa*,

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1933, p. 415.

² *Kharōṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. Transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart, Oxford 1920-29, p. 316.

śilpiḡa, and accordingly seems to stand for *lp*. Another compound *lp*, formed in the usual way by placing *l* above *p*, is stated to occur in *[ka]lpitaṃti*, where the *i*-stroke has been added, but hardly anywhere to denote *lpa*.

Professor Rapson further draws attention to the fact that the St. Andrew's cross is used in a similar way in the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. In an earlier publication¹ he proposed to read the compound letter as *thph*, but now he prefers to read *[Ka]lpī(śa)*.

We should then have to draw the inference that the writer of our inscription had misunderstood the compound and wrongly used it for *pi*. But we should fail to understand why he did so. *A priori* we would be inclined to think that he knew it from words where it was actually pronounced *pi*.

The oldest known occurrence of the compound *akshara* containing the St. Andrew's cross is in the coin legends mentioned above. The name or title in which it is used is applied to two different rulers, whose names are best known in the forms Kujūla and Wima Kadphises. The word is known both from the Greek and from the Kharōshthī legends, and further from Chinese renderings.

In the case of Kujūla, the Chinese transcript points to *Kapa*; the Greek legends give *Kadaphes* and *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshthī we find *Kadapha*, *Kaphsa*, *Kasa*², etc. For Wima we have Chinese *Kāu-t'ien*; Greek *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshthī the form here discussed. There is nowhere any trace of a *l*, but several writings which point to a dental, and probably to a voiced dental fricative, a *ḍ*. And in this connection it should be borne in mind that the Kharōshthī *akshara* which most closely resembles the St. Andrew's cross is the dental *th*. *A priori*, therefore, Professor Rapson's old explanation would seem to be more likely than the new one.

We do not know the derivation or etymological explanation of the word. Professor Lévi³ has maintained that it means 'ruler of Kapiśā'. Whether he is right or not, it is highly probable that it was thus understood in Kapiśā itself, where it was perhaps also used about the successors of the two first Kushānas. And in Kapiśā it could then hardly be pronounced otherwise than *Kāpiśa* or *Kappiśa*. Some of the coin legends also point to disappearance of the sound preceding *p* (*ph*). The writer of our inscription, which has been found in ancient Kāpiśī, would therefore be familiar with the use of the compound *akshara* as a rendering of the sound *pi*, and it is not to be wondered at that he took the St. Andrew's cross to be the sign of *i*, leaving out the *i*-stroke itself.

The result would be the same even if the cross originally stood for *l*. For it is almost certain that old *lp* became *pp* in the North-Western Prākṛit. There are not, it is true, any instances of old *lp* in later Indian Kharōshthī inscriptions. But both Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā have *apa*, *kapa* for Sanskrit *alpa*, *kalpa*, respectively, and the Dutreuil du Rhins manuscript gives *apa* for *alpa* and *sagapa* for *saṃkalpa*. Moreover we find *atapī* for Sanskrit *akalpika*, side by side with 'Sanskrit' forms such as *kalpa*, *kalpī* in Saka, which language has been influenced by the North-Western Prākṛit.

This state of things leads us to question the interpretation of our sign as *lp* in the Niya documents. The forms transliterated *alpa*, *śilpa*, *śilpiḡa* by Professor Rapson were pronounced *appa*, *śippa*, *śippiḡa*, respectively, in the dialect, and we may reasonably draw the inference that the other sign, *l* written above *p*, was used where a Sanskrit loanword was pronounced as in Sanskrit e.g., in *(ka)lpitaṃti*.

¹ *Acies du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, i, p. 219.

² I abstract from the form *Kassa* which Professor Rapson, *Kharōshthī Inscriptions*, p. 312, proposes to read on a copper coin, because the actual reading is not certain. To me it looks like *Katsa*.

³ *J. A.*, ccciii, 1923, p. 52=Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. Translated by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Calcutta 1929, p. 120.

So far as I can see, our only key to the pronunciation of the compound *aksharā* are the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. And we have no reason for assuming a pronunciation *lp* in them. If the letter was originally devised for writing foreign, *e.g.*, Iranian, words containing the consonantal compound *ṣp*, which does not occur in Indian dialects, it is conceivable that it was locally pronounced *lp*.¹ But it is hardly necessary to resort to such an assumption in order to explain the Niya writings. And in our record, at all events, the compound is meant to render *pi*.

With regard to **orthography** and **grammar**, we may note that no distinction has been made between the dental and the cerebral *n*. Thus we have *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa*, but *pituno, danam-muhe*. The last mentioned word illustrates the well-known tendency to nasalize a vowel before a nasal, and also shows that the nominative of *a*-bases ended in *e* and not in *o*, as is the rule in the western part of the territory in which the North-Western Prākṛit was in use. The dialect used in our inscription is, as might be expected, the same as in other Kharōshthī inscriptions.

As has already been remarked, the beginning of the record, probably about twenty *aksharas*, has disappeared. It probably contained a date, either in the old Saka or in the Kanishka era.

The inscription opens with a damaged *ya*, or apparently rather *ye*. It is evidently the termination of a feminine noun, in the genitive or in the locative. This word cannot be restored with any approach to certainty. If it was the last word of the date portion, we might think of *purvaye*, as in the Taxila Plate. Other dated inscriptions from Afghanistan, however, use *kshunammi* and not *purvaye* after the date. Moreover, the ensuing dative *pujāe* makes it probable that we should expect *purvāe* and not *purvaye*. The same consideration may be urged against restoring words such as *bharyaye* or *upasikaye*. We might think of *kuṭimbiniye* or of *kāpisiye*, but we cannot say anything for certain.

The first complete word is *atariye*, which Professor Thomas is no doubt right in restoring as *Antariye*, the genitive of an elsewhere unknown name *Antarī*. It is evidently the name of the donor of the sculpture, and dependent on the following *danam-muhe*, gift.

The remaining words do not present any difficulty. They are : *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa [pi]tuno pujāe*. We might expect a *bhavatu* to follow, and there are perhaps some faint traces of three *aksharas*, which might be read *bhavatu*, above the line, after *pujāe*. My reading and translation are therefore :

TEXT.

. . . y[e] A[m]tariye danam-muhe imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa pituno pujāe [bhavatu]

TRANSLATION.

. . . gift of *Antarī* ; through this root of bliss (may it be) for the worship of [her] father.

No. 5.—A NOTE ON THE MAMANE DHERI INSCRIPTION.

By STEN KONOW, PH.D., OSLO.

The Mamāne Dherī inscription of the year 89 of the Kanishka era was published by me in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, i, pp. 171 ff. A small portion of the record is so defaced that I could not make it out from the photograph and estampages at my disposal. I tentatively read the last word of this part as *pujāe*. In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1928-29, p. 142, Mr. M. Delawar Khan has contributed a note on the record, and a new

¹ Cf. *l* < *ṣ* in Pashto *yal*, Avestan *gaḍa* ; *lām* Avestan *duma*, and vice versa, Sogdian *dykh*, Sanskrit *lōka* ; *ṣṣp*, Sanskrit *kalpa*, etc.

BEGRAM BAS-RELIEF INSCRIPTION.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

From a photograph.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



From a photograph.

reproduction will be found on Plate LVIIIc. We are informed of the fact that Mr. N. G. Majumdar proposes to read *arogadakshinae* instead of *puyae*, and a careful comparison of the new reproduction with my plate shows that he is certainly right. With the exception of the initial *a*, all the *aksharas* can be traced. It is further possible to see that *arogadakshinae* was preceded by a word of three *aksharas*, the first of which must be *pi*, so that we can confidently restore *piduno* or *pituno*. This completes the record, which should accordingly be read :

Sam	20	20	20	20	4	4	1	margaśiras(r)a	masi	4	1	ise	khsunamī
	niryaide	ime	deyadharme	Dharmapriena	shamanena	piduno	arogadakshi-						
	nae	upajayasa	Budhapriasa	puyae	samanuyayana	arogadakshinae.							

No. 6—THAKURDIYA PLATES OF MAHA-PRAVARARAJA.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

These plates were discovered in November 1931 at Thākurdiyā, a village six miles from Sāraṅgarh, the chief town of a feudatory state of the same name in Chhattisgarh, C. P. They were kindly sent to me in January 1933, by Mr. R. D. Naik, B.A., LL.B., the Diwān of Sāraṅgarh at the instance of Mr. L. P. Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahākōśala Historical Society. They are now in the possession of the Chief of Sāraṅgarh, who has kindly permitted me to edit them.

They are **three copper-plates** each measuring 3·6" by 7·1". The first and the third are inscribed on one side only, while the second, which is somewhat thicker, is inscribed on both the sides. The edges of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin each plate has a roundish hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for the ring on which the plates are strung. The ends of this ring, which is 8" in thickness and 3·2" in diameter, were secured in a circular seal of bronze 3·2" in diameter. About a quarter of the lower portion of the seal is broken off, but the emblem and the legend on it are intact. The ring was not cut when the plates were sent to me. The weight of the three plates is 70 *tolas* and that of the seal with the ring is 49 *tolas*.

The plates were much corroded when first found, but have since been cleaned by the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The text of this inscription is, with a few exceptions, practically identical with that of the other inscriptions of the dynasty and there is no uncertainty in its reading. The symbol on the seal also closely resembles that on the other seals of the dynasty. It has already been described by Dr. Fleet¹ and Dr. Sten Konow². The concave and slightly countersunk surface of the seal is divided by two horizontal parallel lines into two equal parts. The upper half contains in relief the figure of **Lakshmi** with a halo surrounding her face, standing on a lotus and facing full front. She holds a lotus in her right hand and something circular in her left. On each side of her there is an elephant standing on a lotus, and holding a pot in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess. In the right as well as the left corner there is a water lily.³ The lower half of the seal contains the **legend** in verse deciphered below.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as found in the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja and also in the silver coin of Prasan-

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 191 and 196.

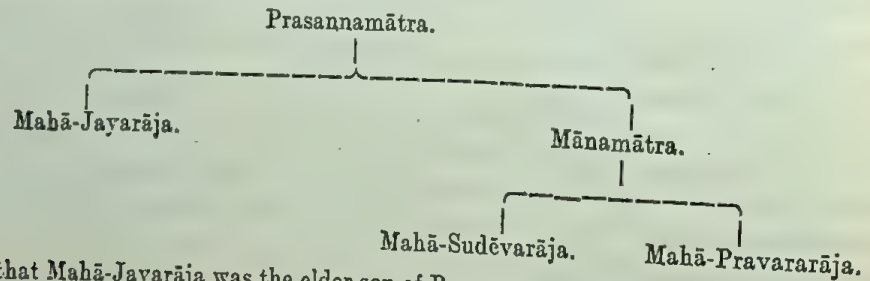
² Above, Vol. IX, p. 171.

³ In the seals described by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Konow there is a *śarikha* in the proper left corner.

namātra. They resemble in general the characters of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman¹ and are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the Siwanī² and Riddhapur³ plates of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II. As in the Ārang plates⁴ of Mahā-Jayarāja, in medial *ī* the length is denoted by a dot in the middle of the circle which indicates its short form. The medial *ū* is denoted in two ways—the usual one of indicating length by a short stroke to the right as in *bhū* and *sū* (cf. *bhūtva* l. 11 and *sūryya* l. 16) and the other in *chū* (cf. *chūdamaṇi* l. 1) and *yū* (cf. *yūyaṇ* l. 10). The medial *ṛi* is denoted by a flourish to the left; the medial *au* is tripartite (cf. *dhau* of *dhautā* l. 2). The sign for the cerebral *ḍ* occurs twice in *chūdamaṇi* l. 1 and *Tuḍārāsh-ṭriya* l. 4. The *gh*, *p*, *s*, and *sh* are open at the top. The right arm of *l* goes over the letter in the form of a curve and appears as a vertical stroke to the left; *m* appears in its angular form, *n* with a loop and *t* without it. The loop of *kh* is larger than its hook. The final *t* as in *dadyāt* l. 17 and *vasūt* l. 19 is denoted by two vertical strokes on the top. The loop of *y* is complete in *Vāja-sanēyinē* l. 9 and *dviḥyāya* l. 13 and contains a dot in *sūryyasutās=cha* l. 16. The final pause is denoted by two vertical lines, the first of which has a hook at the top. The numerical symbols for 3 and 2 occur in lines 22 and 23 respectively.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, we have to note the reduplication of the consonant which follows *r* in *sarvva* l. 8, *dharmmam* l. 13, *svarggē* l. 18, etc. *V* appears doubled after *anusvāra* in *paradattā[ṇ*]vvā* l. 20 and *saṁvvatsara* l. 22. *B* is distinguished from *v* as in *sēk-āmbu* l. 2 and *bahubhir=* l. 19. *Ri* is used instead of the vowel *ṛi* in *sriṣṭaḥ* l. 10 and for the *rēpha* in *dariṣayati* l. 12 and *variṣa* l. 17. The palatal *ś* wrongly appears for the lingual *sh* in *śaṣṭi* and *variṣa* l. 17 and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *śasi* l. 6. The *visarga* appears superfluous after its change to *s* in *grāmaḥ stridaśa* l. 5; so also the *anusvāra* after its change to a nasal in *bhavaṁnti* l. 17 and *śimaṁnta* l. 2, etc. One *d* is wrongly dropped in *tasmādvijāya* l. 13.

The plates were issued from Śrīpura by Mahā-Pravararāja on the second day of Mārgaśīrsha in the third year of his increasingly victorious reign. They record the donation of a village Āshāḍhaka in the *rāṣṭra* or sub-division named Tuḍā⁵ to a Brāhman named Purandara of the Parēśara-gōtra of the Vājasaneyin (Śākhā of the Yajurveda). The importance of our inscription lies in this that it has brought to light the name of a new prince Mahā-Pravararāja in the dynasty of the so-called "Kings of Śarabhapura". Again, unlike the charters of the other kings of this dynasty, these plates have been issued from Śrīpura and not from Śarabhapura. From several plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja, which have been published, we can make out the following genealogy:—



It appears that Mahā-Jayarāja was the elder son of Prasannamātra. He seems to have died without issue and was succeeded by his nephew Mahā-Sudēva. All the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja are issued from Śarabhapura. This town has not been identified

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

² J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XX, pp. 53 ff.

³ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 243.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 191.

⁵ [See p. 22 n. 1.—Ed.]

but Mr. L. P. Pandeya's suggestion¹ that it is represented by modern Śarabharāgarh, the chief town of a big zamindari of the same name in the Gāngpur feudatory state in Orissa appears plausible. The town seems to have been founded by a king named Śarabharāja, just as Pravarapura was founded by King Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It is not known when this Śarabharāja flourished. He may be identical with Śarabharāja whose daughter's son Gōparāja fell in a fierce battle at Eran in the Saugor district of C. P., in which he assisted Bhānugupta as recorded in an inscription² at Eran dated G. E. 191 (510 A.D.). In that case he may have flourished in the latter half of the fifth century. Prasannamātra and his descendants were evidently born in the family of Śarabharāja and may not have been separated from him by many generations; for, as stated above, the characters of their charters closely resemble those of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman which have been referred to the latter half of the fifth and first half of the sixth century A.D. The present plates seem to indicate that Mahā-Pravararāja, who evidently succeeded his elder brother Mahā-Sudēvarāja, removed the capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura which he himself may have founded.³ The town is not known to have been in existence before the fifth or sixth Century A.D. It is named after Śrī or Lakshmī who figures on all the seals of "the Kings of Śarabhapura". In the legend on the seal of the present charter Pravararāja is said to have won the earth with his arms. Such an expression does not occur in the legends on the seals of his brother and uncle. It seems, therefore, that Pravararāja extended his kingdom in the west and must have, therefore, felt the need of shifting his capital to a more centrally situated place like Śrīpura.

It seems that the dynasty came to an end soon after Mahā-Pravararāja; for no descendant of either Mahā-Sudēvarāja or Mahā-Pravararāja is known. By his conquests in the west Mahā-Pravararāja seems to have come into conflict with the Sōmavāmśī kings of Bhāṇḍak and though he succeeded for a while, his dynasty seems ultimately to have been over-thrown by some Sōmavāmśī king, probably Tivaradēva whose Rājim and Balodā plates are issued from Śrīpura; for he is the first king of the Sōmavāmśī dynasty whose inscriptions are connected with that town. Besides, he describes himself as the lord of the entire Kōśala country⁴ in the Balodā plates and such a title he could have assumed only after conquering the territory now known as Chhattisgarh, where Mahā-Pravararāja and his ancestors were ruling. Tivaradēva's Rājim and Balodā plates are inscribed in box-headed characters which appear to be later⁵ than those of the "Kings of Śarabhapura". None of the inscriptions of his predecessors at Bhāṇḍak or his successors at Śrīpura is in box-headed characters. It seems that these characters were in use in Kōśala owing to the influence of the Vākāṭakas; for from the Bālāghāt plates of Pṛithvīshēna we learn that the king of Kōśala, who was probably one of "the Kings of Śarabhapura", was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna. When Tivaradēva conquered the territory he also at first adopted

¹ L. P. Pandeya—A Silver coin of Prasannamātra—*Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, p. 461. [Dr. Sten Konow thinks that Śarabhapura may be identical with the present Śarabhavaram twenty miles north-west from Rajahmundry in the Godāvari district of the Madras Presidency or one of the few other villages with a similar name in the neighbourhood (above, Vol. XIII, p. 108).—Ed.]

² C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 91.

³ R. B. Hiralal who places Śarabhapur kings after the Sōmavāmśī kings of Śrīpura identifies Śarabhapura with Śrīpura. He says "It (Śarabhapura) may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name who is believed to be a match for a lion with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be Kēsaris" (Above, Vol. XI, p. 186 footnote). This conjecture is rendered impossible by the discovery of the present plates; for, herein we find the city named as Śrīpura even by the last prince of the Śarabhapura dynasty. Secondly Tivaradēva and his successors who reigned at Śrīpura are not known to have ever assumed the title of Kēsarin.

⁴ Cf. 'prāpta-sakala-Kōśal-ādhipatyah' above, Vol. VII, p. 105.

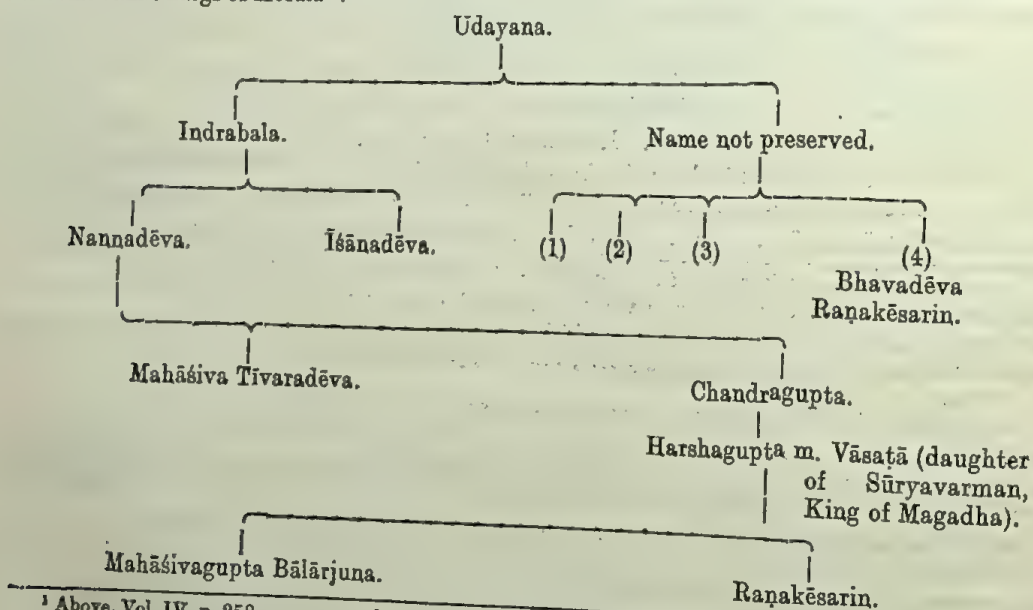
⁵ They are more elongated and angular in appearance than those in the charters of Śarabhapura kings. Again the passage यावद्विप्रशिताराकिरणप्रतिष्ठतचौराभकारं जगद्वतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः which regularly occurs in the grants of Śarabhapura kings seems to have been borrowed in the Rājim and Balodā plates of Tivaradēva.

the same characters in incising his charters. His successors, however, seem to have reverted to the nail-headed characters which their ancestors were using at Bhāṇḍak.

It is necessary to discuss the question of the date of Tivaradēva at some length in order to fix the date of the present plates. While editing the Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta II, Prof. Kielhorn remarked: "The Rājim copper-plate inscription of Mahāśiva Tivaradēva undoubtedly belongs to about the middle of the eighth century"¹. As he remarked elsewhere, this view was based on the evidence of palaeography, language and style. None of these grounds can, however, be regarded *now* as decisive. As stated above, both the Rājim² and Balodā³ plates of Tivaradēva are inscribed in box-headed characters resembling those used in the charters of the Vākāṭaka kings. When Prof. Kielhorn wrote, the relation of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta kings was not known. He, therefore, accepted Dr. Fleet's identification of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta, the maternal grand-father of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II, with Dēvagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Deo Bārnār inscription and assigned the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II to the beginning of the 8th Century and the Rājim plates of Tivaradēva to the second half of the same century. Since then the Poona and Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvātiguṇtā have definitely proved that *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta was none other than Chandragupta II. The Vākāṭakas were, thus, contemporaries of the Early Gupta Kings and their records must, therefore, be referred to the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. As stated above, they are inscribed in box-headed characters. The plates of Tivaradēva, which are also incised in similar characters, can no longer be referred to the 8th Century on palaeographic grounds.

Nor is the evidence of language and style in favour of the late date. The charters of Tivaradēva are, indeed, composed in a style of high flourish, full of long compounds and puns; but so are those of many kings of Valabhī who flourished in the sixth and seventh century A.D.⁴. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for a more reliable evidence for fixing the date of Tivaradēva.

From several inscriptions found at Bhāṇḍak and Śirpur, we get the following genealogy of the Sōmavamśī kings of Kōśala⁵ :—



¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 258.

² C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 291.

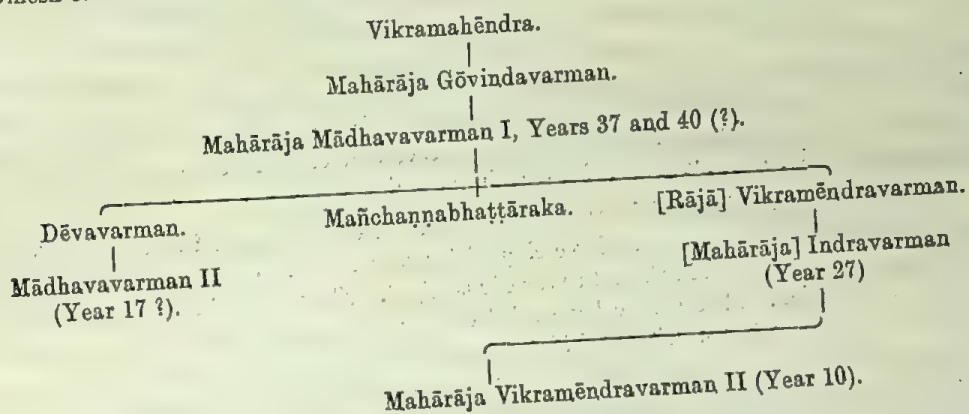
³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 102.

⁴ Cf. for instance, the description of Dhruvasēna II of Valabhī in the Botad plates of G. E. 310 (619-20 A.D.).

⁵ R. B. Hiralal—*Descriptive list of inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second edition, p. 103.

From the Śirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, we learn that Bālārjuna's mother Vāsatā was the daughter of Sūryavarman "who was born in the family of the Varman kings, great on account of their supremacy over Magadha"¹. There is no king of this name in the dynasties of Magadha except the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman whose Harāhā stone inscription² incised in the reign of his father Īśānavarman, is dated (Mālava) Saṃvat 611 (555 A.D.). The name of this prince is not known from other records of the Maukharis. As Sūryavarman is called King in the Śirpur stone inscription above referred to, he may have succeeded his father and ruled for a short time, though, being a collateral, his name is not mentioned in the records of his brother or his descendants. Chandragupta, the grand-father of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna was thus a contemporary of Sūryavarman and flourished probably from 550 to 570 A.D. and his elder brother Tivaradēva from 530 to 550 A.D.

The date thus arrived at for Tivaradēva is corroborated by the evidence afforded by the records of the Viṣṇukunḍin kings. After examining all the available charters of these kings Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sarcar has given the following genealogy³ :—



Mahārāja Mādhavavarman I was the most powerful king of the dynasty. He is described in his as well as his successors' records as one who had performed a thousand (*Agnishṭoma*) sacrifices and eleven *Aśvamēdhas* (horse-sacrifices). He is also described in his plates as "*Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-ratiḥ*"⁴ or as "*Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandanah*"⁵ i.e., as one who sported in company of (or delighted the hearts of) the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Trivara. This expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Hultsch took it to mean that Mādhavavarman I lived at Trivaranagara, but he could not identify the city. It seems clear, however, that Trivaranagara means 'the city of Trivara', i.e., Tivaradēva, King of Mahākōśala. But then what does the above expression signify? It cannot mean that Mādhavavarman married a lady from the family of Tivaradēva; for the expression refers to a number of ladies (*yuvati-jana*) in the mansions of the city of Trivara, whom he delighted. We must, therefore, take the expression to refer to Mādhavavarman's victory over Tivaradēva. Tivaradēva was a powerful king. As stated above, he claims in his

¹ निष्पङ्क्ते मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्मणां पुण्याभिः कृतिभिः कृती कृतमनःकम्पः सुधामोजिनाम् ।
वामासाद्य सुतां हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवर्मा रूपः प्राप प्राक्परमेस्वरश्चरतामर्वालिखन् पदम् ॥

² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

³ *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

⁴ Pulombūru plates of Mādhavavarman, *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 20.

⁵ Ipūr plates of Mādhavavarman, above, Vol. XVII, p. 336.

charters to have attained suzerainty over the whole Kōsala country. A victory over such a great king must be a source of pride to Mādhavavarman. Hence we find it referred to in both his inscriptions. The idea that a victorious king captivates the hearts of young ladies of the enemy's city—nay even of the enemy's family—occurs sometimes in Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature¹. It would not, therefore, be wrong to suppose that Mādhavavarman I vanquished Tivaradēva. In any case, he was his contemporary.

When did this Mādhavavarman flourish? His Pulombūru plates² record that when he crossed the Gōdāvarī to conquer the eastern region he donated the village Pulombūru in the Guḍḍavāḍi *viśaya* to Śivaśarman, the son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman of the Gautama-gōtra and Taittiriya-śākhā, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full moon day of *Phālguna*. Again the Pulombūru plates³ of the Eastern Chālukya King Jayasimha I, which were discovered along with the above plates of Mādhavavarman, record the grant of the same village to Rudraśarman, the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman of the Gōtama-gōtra and Taittiriya-śākhā. From the details given above it is quite clear that Śivaśarman, the donee of Mādhavavarman's plates, was the father of Rudraśarman who received the village from Jayasimha I. It seems that Rudraśarman who is called *pūrv-āgrahārika* (former owner of the donated village) lost possession of the village in troublous times due to the invasions of Pulakēśin II in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, seems to have made representations to Jayasimha I some-time after peace and order had been established in the kingdom and received the *agrahāra* village again from him.

If we calculate the interval between the reigns of Mādhavavarman I and Jayasimha I, we find that some 60 or 70 years must have elapsed between these two rulers. Mādhavavarman's Pulombūru plates are dated in the 40th year of his reign⁴. They were, therefore, issued towards the close of his reign. He seems to have ruled over an extensive empire; for he performed as many as eleven *Aśvamēdhas*. Three of his sons are known from inscriptions—(1) Dēvavarman (2) Mañchannabhataṭṭāraka⁵ and (3) Vikramēndravarman. As Mādhavavarman had a long reign of more than forty years, none of his sons seems to have succeeded him. In any case, we do not know of any plates issued by them.⁶ Mādhavavarman II, the grandson of Mādhavavarman I, who calls himself the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains, seems to have held possession of the western provinces after the death of Mādhavavarman I, while another grandson, Indravarman, seems to have succeeded him in the east. His plates are dated in the 27th regnal year. He is not likely to have reigned much longer, for his son Vikramēndravarman is said to have come to the throne when he was a mere boy.⁷ Vikramēndravarman's plates were issued in his tenth regnal year. The reigns of Indravarman and his son thus cover a little more than 37 years. As no successor of Vikramēndravarman is known, he seems to have been dethroned by Pulakēśin II, who placed his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana in charge of the Eastern province, who reigned

¹ Cf. Rājasēkhara's *Viddhasālābhāṅjikā*, IV, 8 and *Gaṇḍavaho* (V. 1069).

² *Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 17.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 254.

⁴ I have accepted the view of Mr. D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 275.

⁵ The name of this prince occurs towards the end of the Ipūr plates (First set). Above, Vol. XVII, p. 334. None of his descendants are known.

⁶ It is noteworthy that no royal titles are prefixed to their names even in the records of their sons. [That no plates of these rulers have yet been found may not be taken as a proof that they did not rule. In the Rāmatirtham plates, Vikramēndravarman also bears the title of *rājā* like his son Indravarman who was the ruler and the donor of the grant.—Ed.]

⁷ परमनाइवरस्य महाराजस्य श्रीइन्द्रभट्टारकवर्मणः प्रियव्येष्टपुत्री गरिष्ठः श्रेष्ठ एव सकलगुणालङ्कृतस्य सम्यग्धारोपितसकलराज्यभारः परमनाइवरी महाराजः श्रीमान् विक्रमेन्द्रवर्मा एवमाप्तापयति.

for about 18 years (615-633 A.D.). As the Pulombūru plates of Jayasimha referred to above are dated in the fifth¹ regnal year, we can calculate the interval between the dates of the two sets of Pulombūru plates as follows² :—

	Years.
Indravarman	27
Vikramēndravarman	10
Vishnuvardhana	18
Jayasimha	5
Total	60

As Mādhavarman I, Indravarman and Vikramēndravarman may have continued to reign for some years after their respective plates were issued, this figure may have to be increased by about ten years, i.e., a period of about seventy years may have elapsed between the gifts of Mādhavarman I and Jayasimha³. It appears that Śivaśarman was a young man of 25 to 30 years when he met Mādhavarman I in his expedition to the east, while his son was an old man of 50 to 60 years of age when he regained the lost *agrahāra* village from Jayasimha. Now Jayasimha issued his plates in *circa* 638 A.D. Deducting 70 years from this, we get c. 568 A.D. as the approximate date of Mādhavarman's plates. We find that there was a lunar eclipse in the month of *Phālguna* in 565 A.D. This may, therefore, be accepted as the date of Mādhavarman's plates. As these plates were issued in his 40th regnal year, we may accept 525-568 as the probable duration of Mādhavarman's reign⁴. We have fixed above 530 to 550 A.D. as the date of Tivaradēva on the evidence of the Śirpur inscription, which we thus find corroborated by the date of Mādhavarman I, who, as described in his charters, was a contemporary of Tivaradēva.⁵

¹ Agreeing with Mr. Somasekhara Sarma (*Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. V, p. 183) I read the numerical symbol in Jayasimha's Pulombūru plates as 5.

² The years of Mādhavarman II's reign are not included here, as he was ruling in the west contemporaneously with Indravarman. [But cf. Dr. Hultzsch's view, above, Vol. XVII, p. 338.—Ed.]

³ [The argument does not appear to me as very convincing. If we have to allow other rulers between Mādhavarman I and Indravarman or even another ruler, viz., Vikramēndra, who also bears the title of *rājā*, the situation would become worse. It is very doubtful if Mādhavarman I could be so far removed from Jayasimha even if he was not actually the predecessor of the latter in time as Prof. Bhandarkar thinks. See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 291, n. 3. Moreover, there were other lunar eclipses in *Phālguna* between 565 and 638 A.D.—Ed.]

⁴ Agreeing with Mr. D. C. Sircar, I have identified Mādhavarman of Pulombūru plates with Mādhavarman I mentioned in the Chikkulla and Ipūr plates (First set) on the ground of similarity of description. Mr. J. Dubreuil, who distinguishes between them, places Mādhavarman I about 450 A.D. The tradition in the *Stihalamāhātmya* of Śrī-Parvata on which he relies (*Ancient Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 73) is worthless for historical purposes. Prabhāvatiguptā was not known as Chandrāvatī and was, moreover, a devotee of Vishnu and not of Śiva. See her Riddhapur plates. If Mādhavarman I owed his throne to a Vākātaka prince, it must be to Harishēṇa (C. 500-530 A.D.) who conquered the Āndhra country. The Vākātaka princess whom he married was probably Harishēṇa's own daughter.

⁵ The late Dr. Hiralal accepting Kielhorn's date for Tivaradēva placed the Śirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of Tivaradēva's grand nephew in the eighth or ninth century A.D. (Above, Vol. XI, p. 184). But the characters of the inscription which closely resemble those in the Ganjām plates of the time of Saśāṅka (619-620 A.D.) are decidedly earlier. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I (Saka Samvat 793) with Tivaradēva's brother (Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240) cannot be accepted; for that Chandragupta, who is mentioned with Nāgabhaṭa in the inscription was probably a king of Central India, and not of Kōsala. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kōsala is mentioned subsequently in the description of the later conquests of Gōvinda III. Trivara who is mentioned in the Kondedda, Nivinā and Puri plates as defeated by the Sailōdbhava king Dharmarāja *alias* Mānabhīta was probably a descendant of the earlier Tivaradēva who issued Rājim and Balodā plates. We know of several instances of such repetition of names in the dynasty of the Sōmavamśi kings of Kōsala and Orissa to which Tivaradēva belonged.

charters to have attained suzerainty over the whole Kōsala country. A victory over such a great king must be a source of pride to Mādhavavarman. Hence we find it referred to in both his inscriptions. The idea that a victorious king captivates the hearts of young ladies of the enemy's city—nay even of the enemy's family—occurs sometimes in Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature¹. It would not, therefore, be wrong to suppose that Mādhavavarman I vanquished Tivaradēva. In any case, he was his contemporary.

When did this Mādhavavarman flourish? His Pulombūru plates² record that when he crossed the Gōdāvarī to conquer the eastern region he donated the village Pulombūru in the Guḍḍavāḍi *viśaya* to Śivaśarman, the son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman of the Gautama-gōtra and Taittiriya-śākhā, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full moon day of *Phālguna*. Again the Pulombūru plates³ of the Eastern Chālukya King Jayasimha I, which were discovered along with the above plates of Mādhavavarman, record the grant of the same village to Rudraśarman, the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman of the Gōtama-gōtra and Taittiriya-śākhā. From the details given above it is quite clear that Śivaśarman, the donee of Mādhavavarman's plates, was the father of Rudraśarman who received the village from Jayasimha I. It seems that Rudraśarman who is called *pūrv-āgrahārika* (former owner of the donated village) lost possession of the village in troublous times due to the invasions of Pulakēśin II in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, seems to have made representations to Jayasimha I some-time after peace and order had been established in the kingdom and received the *agrahāra* village again from him.

If we calculate the interval between the reigns of Mādhavavarman I and Jayasimha I, we find that some 60 or 70 years must have elapsed between these two rulers. Mādhavavarman's Pulombūru plates are dated in the 40th year of his reign⁴. They were, therefore, issued towards the close of his reign. He seems to have ruled over an extensive empire; for he performed as many as eleven *Aśvamēdhas*. Three of his sons are known from inscriptions—(1) Dēvavarman (2) Mañchannabhataṭṭāraka⁵ and (3) Vikramēndravarman. As Mādhavavarman had a long reign of more than forty years, none of his sons seems to have succeeded him. In any case, we do not know of any plates issued by them.⁶ Mādhavavarman II, the grandson of Mādhavavarman I, who calls himself the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains, seems to have held possession of the western provinces after the death of Mādhavavarman I, while another grandson, Indravarman, seems to have succeeded him in the east. His plates are dated in the 27th regnal year. He is not likely to have reigned much longer, for his son Vikramēndravarman is said to have come to the throne when he was a mere boy.⁷ Vikramēndravarman's plates were issued in his tenth regnal year. The reigns of Indravarman and his son thus cover a little more than 37 years. As no successor of Vikramēndravarman is known, he seems to have been dethroned by Pulakēśin II, who placed his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana in charge of the Eastern province, who reigned

¹ Cf. Rājasēkhara's *Viddhaśālābhāṅjikā*, IV, 8 and *Gauḍavaho* (V. 1069).

² *Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 17.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 254.

⁴ I have accepted the view of Mr. D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 275.

⁵ The name of this prince occurs towards the end of the Ipūr plates (First set). Above, Vol. XVII, p. 334. None of his descendants are known.

⁶ It is noteworthy that no royal titles are prefixed to their names even in the records of their sons. [That no plates of these rulers have yet been found may not be taken as a proof that they did not rule. In the Rāmatīrtham plates, Vikramēndravarman also bears the title of *rājā* like his son Indravarman who was the ruler and the donor of the grant.—Ed.]

⁷ परमनाइश्वरस्य महाराजस्य श्रीइन्द्रभट्टारकवर्धनः प्रियव्येष्टपुत्री गरिष्ठः श्रेष्ठ एव सकलगुणालङ्कृतस्य सत्यग्यारोपितसकलराज्यभारः परमनाइश्वरी महाराजः श्रीमान् विक्रमेन्द्रवर्मा एवमाज्ञापयति.

for about 18 years (615-633 A.D.). As the Pulombūru plates of Jayasimha referred to above are dated in the fifth¹ regnal year, we can calculate the interval between the dates of the two sets of Pulombūru plates as follows² :—

	Years.
Indravarman	27
Vikramēndravarman	10
Vishnuvardhana	18
Jayasimha	5
Total	60

As Mādhavarman I, Indravarman and Vikramēndravarman may have continued to reign for some years after their respective plates were issued, this figure may have to be increased by about ten years, i.e., a period of about seventy years may have elapsed between the gifts of Mādhavarman I and Jayasimha³. It appears that Śivaśarman was a young man of 25 to 30 years when he met Mādhavarman I in his expedition to the east, while his son was an old man of 50 to 60 years of age when he regained the lost *agrahāra* village from Jayasimha. Now Jayasimha issued his plates in *circa* 638 A.D. Deducting 70 years from this, we get c. 568 A.D. as the approximate date of Mādhavarman's plates. We find that there was a lunar eclipse in the month of *Phālguna* in 565 A.D. This may, therefore, be accepted as the date of Mādhavarman's plates. As these plates were issued in his 40th regnal year, we may accept 525-568 as the probable duration of Mādhavarman's reign⁴. We have fixed above 530 to 550 A.D. as the date of Tivaradēva on the evidence of the Śirpur inscription, which we thus find corroborated by the date of Mādhavarman I, who, as described in his charters, was a contemporary of Tivaradēva.⁵

¹ Agreeing with Mr. Somasekhara Sarma (*Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. V, p. 183) I read the numerical symbol in Jayasimha's Pulombūru plates as 5.

² The years of Mādhavarman II's reign are not included here, as he was ruling in the west contemporaneously with Indravarman. [But cf. Dr. Hultzsch's view, above, Vol. XVII, p. 338.—Ed.]

³ [The argument does not appear to me as very convincing. If we have to allow other rulers between Mādhavarman I and Indravarman or even another ruler, viz., Vikramēndra, who also bears the title of *rājā*, the situation would become worse. It is very doubtful if Mādhavarman I could be so far removed from Jayasimha even if he was not actually the predecessor of the latter in time as Prof. Bhandarkar thinks. See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 291, n. 3. Moreover, there were other lunar eclipses in *Phālguna* between 565 and 638 A.D.—Ed.]

⁴ Agreeing with Mr. D. C. Sircar, I have identified Mādhavarman of Pulombūru plates with Mādhavarman I mentioned in the Chikkulla and Ipūr plates (First set) on the ground of similarity of description. Mr. J. Dubreuil, who distinguishes between them, places Mādhavarman I about 450 A.D. The tradition in the *Sthalamāhātmya* of Śrī-Parvata on which he relies (*Ancient Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 73) is worthless for historical purposes. Prabhāvatiguptā was not known as Chandrāvatī and was, moreover, a devotee of Vishnu and not of Śiva. See her Riddhapur plates. If Mādhavarman I owed his throne to a Vākātaka prince, it must be to Harishēpa (c. 500-530 A.D.) who conquered the Āndhra country. The Vākātaka princess whom he married was probably Harishēpa's own daughter.

⁵ The late Dr. Hiralal accepting Kielhorn's date for Tivaradēva placed the Śirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of Tivaradēva's grand nephew in the eighth or ninth century A.D. (Above, Vol. XI, p. 184). But the characters of the inscription which closely resemble those in the Ganjam plates of the time of Saśāṅka (619-620 A.D.) are decidedly earlier. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I (Saka Samvat 793) with Tivaradēva's brother (Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240) cannot be accepted; for that Chandragupta, who is mentioned with Nāgabhatta in the inscription was probably a king of Central India, and not of Kōsala. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kōsala is mentioned subsequently in the description of the later conquests of Gōvinda III. Trivara who is mentioned in the Kondedda, Nivinā and Purī plates as defeated by the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja *alias* Mānabhīta was probably a descendant of the earlier Tivaradēva who issued Rājim and Balodā plates. We know of several instances of such repetition of names in the dynasty of the Sōmavamśī kings of Kōsala and Orissa to which Tivaradēva belonged.

We have shown above that Tivaradēva flourished later than the "Kings of Śarabhapura" and was probably responsible for their overthrow. Mahā-Pravararāja, the donor of the present plates, is the last known king of the 'Śarabhapura dynasty'. He seems, therefore, to have flourished in the beginning of the sixth century (*circa* 515 to 535 A.D.).

The overthrow of the kings of Śarabhapura by Tivaradēva accounts for the war between Mādhavavarman I and Tivaradēva. As we have seen the kings of Śarabhapura were probably feudatories of the Vākātakas. In the beginning of the sixth century the power of the Vākātakas was declining. The reign of Harishēṇa the last known Vākātaka king came to an end about 530 A.D. Mādhavavarman I who is known to have married a Vākātaka princess, probably a daughter of Harishēṇa, seems to have taken vengeance for the destruction of the kings of Śarabhapura by invading the kingdom of Tivaradēva and occupying his capital for a while as suggested in his Pulombūru and Īpūr plates.

As for the geographical names occurring in these plates Śrīpura is modern Śirpur in the Raipur District of C. P. Tuḍā¹ which gave its name to the district in which the donated village was situated, may be identified with one of the villages named Tuṇḍa, Tuṇḍra, Tundri or Tundrāgaon in the vicinity of Seorinārāyan about 25 to 30 miles from Thākurdīyā. It may be noted in this connection that the Tuṇḍāraka-*bhukti* mentioned in the Sāraṅgaḍh plates of Mahā-Sudēva has been identified by R. B. Dr. Hiralal with Tundra 6 miles south of Seorinārāyan. The village Chullaṇḍaraka granted in that charter may be identified with Childa 82°31' and 21°30'. The village Āshāḍhaka granted in the present plates may be represented by modern Asoud 82°54' and 21°45', about two miles to the north of the Mahānadi, which is within a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from the villages Tuṇḍa, Tundra, etc., mentioned above.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.²

TEXT.

The Seal.

- 1 मानमात्र[सु]त[स्ये]दं स्व[भु]जोपाज्जितचित्तेः [1*]
- 2 [अ]मल्लवरराजस्य मासन[+*] शत्रुशासन[+*] [11*]³

First Plate.

- 1 श्री⁴ स्वस्ति [1*] ओपुरादिक्रमोपनतसाम⁵न्तमकुटचूडा⁶मणिप्रभाप्र-
- 2 सेका⁷म्बुधौतपादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनोसीम⁸न्तोदरणहेतुः⁹-
- 3 वसुवसुधागोप्रदः¹⁰ परमभागवतो मा¹¹तापितृपादानुध्यातः
- 4 श्रीमहाप्रवरराजः तुडाराष्ट्रि¹²याषाढके प्रतिवासिनः समान्ना-
- 5 पयति [1*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामः स्विदशपतिसदन-
- 6 सुखप्रतिष्ठाकरो यावद्विशसि¹³ताराकिरणप्रतिहतघोराश्वका-

¹ [Correct reading appears to be *Tuṇḍa*.—Ed.]

² The excellent facsimiles, which accompany this article, were kindly supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

⁶ The engraver first wrote *dhā* but afterwards corrected it as *dā*.

⁷ The *visarga* is superfluous.

⁸ दः which was first omitted is written below the line.

⁹ Read माता¹⁰

¹¹ [Reading is तुडाराष्ट्रि.—Ed.]

¹² Read शशि¹³

2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥

Second Plate: First Side.

८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 १० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 १० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥
 १२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 १२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥

Second Plate: Second Side.

१४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 १४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
 १६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 १६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
 १८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 १८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥

Third Plate.

20 20 22 22
 20 22

SEAL.



(From a photograph).

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 (रं) जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः सनिधिः सोपनिधिरचाटभटप्रावे-
 8 श्यः सर्व्वकारविसर्जितः सातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)भिवृद्धये पराश-
 9 रसगोत्राय वाजसनेयिने भट्टकपुरन्दरस्वामिने ताम्र'शा-
 10 सनेनातिसिष्टः¹[1*] ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्य आन्नाश्रवणविधेया
 11 भूत्वा यथोचितं भोगभागमुपन्त² सुखं प्रतिवक्ष्यय [1*] भविष्यतश्च भू-
 12 मिपालाननुदरिष्यति [1*] दानाद्विशिष्टमनुपालनजं पुराणा

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 धर्मेषु निश्चितधियः प्रवदन्ति धर्मं [1*] तस्माद्विजाय³ सुविशुद्धकु-
 14 लश्रुताय दत्तां भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप्तुं [11*]⁴ तद्भवद्विरप्येषा दत्ति-
 15 रनुपालयितव्या [1*] व्यासगीतांश्च श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति [1*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्र-
 16 थमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वेणवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [1*] दत्तास्त्रयस्ते-
 17 न भवंन्ति⁵ लोका यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात् [1*] शष्टो वरिशस-⁶
 18 हस्त्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता⁷ च तान्येव नर-

Third Plate.

- 19 के वसेत् [11*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः⁸ सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य य-
 20 स्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं [11*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताव्वा⁹ यत्ना-
 21 द्रक्ष्य युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही¹⁰ महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपाल-
 22 नमिति [11*] ¹¹समुखाजया प्रवर्द्धमानविजयसंव्व¹²त्सर ३ मार्ग-
 23 शीर्ष दि २ उकिर्ण¹³ शीलसिद्धेन¹⁴ ॥

¹ Read ताव⁰² Read ०रुष्टः³ Read मुपनयनः⁴ Read दृश्यति⁵ Read द्विजाय⁶ Metro : Vasantatilakā.⁷ The anusvāra is superfluous.⁸ Read षष्टि वर्ष^c⁹ Read परदत्तां वा.¹⁰ Read मही.¹¹ Read समुखाजया.¹² Read संवत्सर.¹³ Read उत्कीर्ण.¹⁴ [Plate shows Gōla.—Ed.]

No. 7.—DAYYAMDINNE PLATES OF VINAYADITYA-SATYASRAYA; ŚAKA 614.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on three copper-plates discovered at Dayyamdinne a village in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary District. It is noticed in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1916 and described as follows: "The ends of the ring are fixed into the bottom of an almost circular seal, one inch in diameter, bearing on its counter-sunk surface the crude figure of a standing boar facing the proper right, as in the case of the Harihar Grant of Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pages 300 ff. The plates measure between 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " and 9" in breadth and between 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. The ring, which is oval in shape, measures 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ " and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The plates and the seal weigh 112 *tolas*". The inscription is edited below for the first time from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent (now Superintendent) for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation though some letters in the second plate are damaged and rendered indistinct. Only one side of the first and last plates bears writing. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and resemble closely those of the Sorab and Harihar grants, which belong, like the present one, to the Chālukya king Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning and benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is throughout in prose. In respect of orthography it may be remarked that the consonants *ṇ*, *t*, *d*, *n* and *v* are doubled after *r* as in °*ārṇṇavam* (l. 1), *kīrtti* (l. 14), *Sēnānīr-ddaitya-balam* (l. 19), etc. The rules of sandhi are not strictly observed, as for instance in *pañchāśad-nivarttana* (ll. 29-31). There are numerous clerical mistakes in the record owing to the carelessness of the engraver.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land each, to Dūsaśarman and Kaṇṇaśarman of the Kauśika-gōtra, and Sarvaśarman of the Ātrēya-gōtra, in the eastern quarter of the village Uḷchal in Naḷavāḍi-vishaya, and fifty *nivartanas*, to Sarvaśarman of the Gārgyāyana-gōtra, in the southern quarter of the same village, made by the Western Chālukya king Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya who was encamped at Taḷayakhēḍa-grāma near the northern bank of the Tagara river. The grant was made at the request of a certain Marddakārī, on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha in *Dakṣiṇāyana-kāla* falling in the twelfth year of Vinayāditya's reign, when six-hundred and fourteen Śaka years had expired. The record was composed by Śrī-Rāmapuṇya-vallabha who also wrote the other charters of this king.

The details of date given in the present record have been calculated by the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai² whose remarks on them run as follows: "If the reference were to Śaka 614 (expired)...the Āshāḍha full-moon would be that which fell on June 4 (Adhika-Āshāḍha)..... or that which fell on July 4 (Nija-Āshāḍha).... Neither day would be the summer solstice whether of the tropical or sidereal sun. But if we took Śaka 614 as referring to the current Śaka year, i.e., to A.D. 691-92, then Āshāḍha full-moon would have been on June 16, A.D. 692³ which would be.....very near the tropical summer solstice". It is proved in the sequel that the intended date of the record must be July 4, A.D. 692, and that *Dakṣiṇāyana-kāla*

¹ C. P. No. 7 of 1915-16.² M. E. R. 1916, App. G, p. 102. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 35.³ It ought to be A.D. 691, since the commencement of the year (*Chaitra*, *śu.* 1) fell in March A.D. 691.

cited in the record must be taken to mean a day in *Dakṣiṇāyana*¹ and not a day of *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti*. It may be noted that the record does not mention the *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* as such but specifies the day as falling in *Dakṣiṇāyana* only.

The charter is important as it helps us in determining the date of accession of Vinayāditya with greater certitude than hitherto. So far six² dated records of the king have come to light. But owing to the irreconcilable regnal years given in them it has not been possible to ascertain his initial year definitely. In this set of six are included the Jejūri copper-plates recently published in this journal³ whose date has added further difficulties in solving the problem. But if we study all the dates of Vinayāditya with reference to the details contained in the Dayyamdinne plates, we arrive at a definite result, as shown below, viz., some day between *Āshāḍha śu. 2* and *Āshāḍha śu. 15* of Śaka-Samvat 603 expired, i.e., between 22nd June and 4th July of A.D. 681 for the commencement of the first current year of the king.

According to the Sorab grant,⁴ Śaka 614 expired, *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti*, Rōhiṇī, Saturday fell in the 11th regnal year of the king. This date corresponded to Saturday, 22nd June, A.D. 692, on which day the *tithi* was *Niṣa-Āshāḍha śu. 2*. The present charter bears the same Śaka date and was issued on the full-moon day of *Āshāḍha* in *Dakṣiṇāyana* which, however, is stated to have fallen in his 12th regnal year. Of the two alternative equivalents for the *Ādhika*- and *Niṣa-Āshāḍha* in that year, viz., 4th June and 4th July A.D. 692, the latter has to be accepted since 4th June would neither be a day of *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* nor a day in *Dakṣiṇāyana*; for *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* took place, as stated above, only on the 22nd day of that month. Further, 4th June could not have fallen in his 12th year since his 11th year lasted till at least 22nd June. Thus the dates of these two grants, combined, yield the initial date to fall sometime between 22nd June and 4th July A.D. 681. This starting point of Vinayāditya's reign agrees perfectly well with the dates given in his Lakṣmēśvara inscription,⁵ and the Karnūl⁶ and Harihar⁷ grants. The Togarchēdu⁸ grant and the Jejūri plates, however, point to some day between 18th October A.D. 678 and 2nd July A.D. 679 for the first year of the king. This day probably marks the time of Vinayāditya's nomination to the throne during the lifetime of his father.⁹ It may be remarked that the Śaka years quoted in the Lakṣmēśvara inscription and the Togarchēdu grant must be considered as referring to the current years and not expired ones. Dr. Kielhorn¹⁰ is inclined to take this view in regard to the former record. These

¹ Such citations are not rare in inscriptions. See for example App. G to *M. E. R.* for 1916, p. 101, No. 561 of 1915. The gift in the present case might have been actually made on the day of *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* and issued on the date recorded in the plates. See also above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

² There are two forged grants of the same king which are noticed in *M. E. R.* for 1906, No. 12 of App. A and *ibid.*, for 1917-18, No. 3 of App. A. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 240, is noticed the Paṭṭā grant of this king dated Śaka 617 corresponding to his 14th regnal year.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 149.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 300.

⁸ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 242.

⁹ See below, p. 29.

¹⁰ Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, App. II, p. 2.

results will become clear from the following classified table of dated records of Vinayāditya in which the corresponding initial years also are shown :

Inscription.	Regnal year.	Details of date.	Approximate English equivalent.	Initial day of the first current year.
1. Jejūri Plates . . .	9	Saka 609 (expired), Āshāḍha, śu. 15.	2nd July, A.D. 687	(I) Between 18th October, A.D. 678, and 2nd July, A.D. 679.
2. Togarchēḍu grant . . .	10	Saka 611 (expired), Kārttika, śu. 15.	18th October, A.D. 688. (Fleet; 3rd November, A.D. 689). ¹	
3. Lakshmēśvara inscription	5	Saka 608 (expired), Māgha, śu. 15.	20th January, A.D. 686. (Fleet; 3rd February, A.D. 687). ¹	(II) Between 22nd June and 4th July, A.D. 681.
4. Karnūl grant . . .	11	Saka 613 (expired), Māgha, śu. 15.	10th January, A.D. 692.	
5. Sorab grant . . .	11	Saka 614 (expired), Dakṣiṇāyana- saṅkrānti, Satur- day, Rōhiṇi.	22nd June, A.D. 692	
6. Dayyamdinne plates . . .	12	Saka 614 (expired), Āshāḍha, śu. 15, Dakṣiṇāyana-kāla.	4th July, A.D. 692	
7. Harihar grant . . .	14	Saka 616 (expired), Kārttika, śu. 15.	9th October, A.D. 694.	

The record is interesting in other respects also. While recounting the achievements of Vikramāditya the present inscription, like all the other records of Vinayāditya, states that he captured Kāñchīpura after defeating the Pallava king who had become the cause of disgrace to his family, subdued the three kings (*dharaṇīdharaṭraya*²) Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa and made the inexorable Pallava bow to his feet. Vikramāditya's own records,³ however, are unanimous in proclaiming that he acquired for himself the fortune of his father which had been concealed by (the confederacy of) three kings (*avanipatitritaya*²) and defeated the enemy-kings in country after country. The Gadvāl plates⁴ of his 20th year (A.D. 674) add that he inflicted a crushing defeat on Pallava Narasiṃhavarman, Mahēndravarmān and Īśvarapōtavarman and seized their capital Kāñchīpura. Thus, the defeat of the Pallavas and the capture of Kāñchīpura being common in both the accounts, the confederacy of three kings mentioned in the epigraphs of Vikramāditya must evidently refer to the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa given in his son's records. Fleet's opinion that the three princes were Pallava Narasiṃhavarman, Mahēndravarmān and Īśvarapōtavarman is untenable. It is impossible in the scheme of Pallava chronology to suppose that Narasiṃhavarman and Mahēndravarmān had died and Paramēśvaravarman's rule had already commenced by A.D. 655 in which year Vikramāditya had acquired his hereditary provinces after subduing the confederacy. For

¹ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, pp. 368 and 369.

² According to Pāṇini द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायञ्जा १५।२।४३। the terminations . तयप् and अयञ् convey the same meaning. Hence the two expressions occurring in the two sets of inscriptions must be taken to give the same sense.

³ See for instance, above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

according to all authorities¹ on Pallava chronology Narasimhavarman's reign alone extended beyond A.D. 655. As stated above, Vikramāditya recovered his territory from the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa kings, and not from the Pallavas, which fact leads us to suppose that the Chāḷukyan territory was not in the possession of the Pallavas in or immediately before A.D. 655. The Pallava grants,² however, assert that Narasimhavarman defeated Pulakēśin II in the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala and Sūramāra and destroyed Vātāpi. In some inscriptions³ he is given the epithet *Vātāpi-koṇḍa*. This is fully borne out by the existence of a rock-inscription at Bādāmi of this Pallava king, written in the Pallava-Grantha characters of the period.⁴ This event is supposed to have taken place after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang to the court of Pulakēśin II *i.e.*, in about A.D. 643. It is not, at present, possible to guess under what circumstances the Pallava hold was displaced and the three confederates occupied the Chāḷukyan country in the intervening period.⁵

Another noteworthy point in the present record is the expression *Trairājya-Pallava*. Vinayāditya is stated to have vanquished, at the command of his father, the over-grown army of Trairājya-Pallava and brought his country into a state of peace and quiet. Scholars are divided in their opinion regarding the significance of the term *Trairājya*. Fleet,⁶ Kielhorn⁷ and Krishna Sastri⁸ have taken it to refer to the three South-Indian powers, *viz.*, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa. Dr. Dubreuil⁹ has posited that the three kings who constituted *Trairājya* were the Pallava, the Pāṇḍya and Siṃhaḷa Mānavamma. Recently, an endeavour has been made by a writer to show that this term as well as the expression *avanipati-tritaya* refer to the three branches of the Pallava dynasty ruling over three different regions of their kingdom¹⁰. One of them ruled, according to him, over Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and the Tamil country with its capital at Kāñchī, another governed the modern Guntur and Nellore districts and formerly issued its grants usually from Mēnamātura, Tāmbraṇa and Palakkada, and the third had under its control the modern Ceded Districts probably with the exception of Cuddapah. The views of either of the last two scholars are wholly untenable as they lack the support of historical facts of the period and of the proper interpretation of the texts of inscriptions in which the word occurs. This term is found used, besides in the Chāḷukya inscriptions, also in

¹ K. V. S. Aiyar's *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dekhan*, p. 41; Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 73.

² Kūram, Kāśākuḍi and Vēlūrpālaiyam grants. (*S. I. I.*, Vols. I, pp. 148 ff., II, No. 73, and p. 503).

³ *E.g. S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 73.

⁴ There are also some minor inscriptions at Bādāmi written in this script, see *e.g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 61.

⁵ It is not impossible that soon after the occupation of Vātāpi by Narasimhavarman I after A.D. 642, the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, and Kēraḷa who were biding a favourable opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted upon them by the Pallava monarch (see the Kūram plates), joined themselves into a confederacy and, after subduing the Pallavas whose resources had probably been exhausted in their conflicts with the Chāḷukyan army, marched as far north as Vātāpi, shattered the Pallava hold on it and finally took possession of the Chāḷukya territory. This supposition would explain the variant statements contained in the Chāḷukya as well as the Pallava epigraphs and the description of the Pallavas as the cause of disgrace and destruction of the lunar family of the Chāḷukyas would also be accounted for.

⁶ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 368.

⁷ Above, Vol. V, p. 202 n.

⁸ Above, Vol. XI, p. 341 n. 1. See also Hultzsch, above, Vol. IX, p. 101 n. 5 and Pathak, *ibid.*, p. 205, n. 4.

⁹ *The Pallavas*, p. 44.

¹⁰ *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, January 1929, pp. 6 and 8. The author presumes that "the Chōḷas did not exist as a political power during the seventh century A.D." (p. 4). This is wrong. They are referred to as an independent ruling family in almost all the records of Vinayāditya and his successors. There is nothing to indicate in the Gadvāl grant that the Chōḷika-vishaya had been directly governed by the Pallavas of Kāñchī, as supposed by him.

the Malēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra (Cir. 8th century¹ A.D.), the Viṣṇupurāṇa² and Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa³ (9th century A.D.). In the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the word occurs along with Mushika in the passage⁴ चैराज्यं मुषिकजनपदात्कनकाह्वयो भोज्यति । Fleet has identified Mushika with a part of the Malabar coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin.⁵ Trairājya should, therefore, be naturally located near it. Further the word is explained by the commentator of Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa as referring to Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. It is therefore reasonable to think that Trairājya of the Chālukya inscriptions refers to these three countries only. This view finds considerable support from the analogous expression राज्यत्रये occurring in Vikramāditya (I)'s records which in the context means the administration of the three kings (अवनिपतित्रितय), viz., Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa.

From the foregoing discussion it may be said that the constituents of Trairājya were not the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Siṃhaḷa Mānavamma as postulated by Dr. Dubreuil. If the Ceylon king had actually joined the confederation, this remarkable event would have been mentioned in the Mahāvamsa as an important achievement of Mānavamma.⁶ Further the Pallava could not have formed a member of the Trairājya since he is mentioned separately. The contention that the Trairājya was composed of three kings ruling over three different parts of the Pallava kingdom is similarly untenable⁷ for the above-mentioned reasons. According to this view, we ought to find the existence of the Pallava sway over the Nellore, Guntur and the Ceded Districts in and before A.D. 643 when the confederation is supposed to have temporarily subverted the Chālukya power. But this is not the case. The situation of stone inscriptions and of villages granted in copper-plate records⁸ of this early period would show clearly that parts of the Guntur, Nellore and the Ceded Districts had already been conquered by Pulakēśin II in his famous dig-vijaya and become subject to the Chālukya rule.

The defeat of the three powers, namely, the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa by Vinayāditya appears to have taken place after the date of the Gadvāl plates (A.D. 674) since it is not alluded to there. After the victorious campaign of the Chālukya king into the Pallava and Chōḷa countries in that year, the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman must have mustered his forces and sought the assistance of the Chōḷa and the other two powers of South India in order to give a crushing blow to their common enemy Vikramāditya. The combined forces of these four powers entered the Chālukyan territory and probably sacked and captured the 'city of Raṇarasika' on this

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 337.

² Chapter 4-24-67 of the Veṅkaṭēśvara Press edition.

³ Chapter XXX, verse 35. This reference was pointed out by Pathak above, Vol. IX, p. 205.

⁴ Mr. K. P. Jayaswal adds स्त्रीराज्य to this in his quotation from the same Purāṇa (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIX, p. 129).

⁵ Dyn. Kan. Dist., p. 281. See Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar in J. R. A. S. April 1922, p. 175 and also Nunda Lal Dey's Geographical Dictionary of the Ancient and Medieval India, p. 134. [Musikanagara is mentioned in the Hathi Gumpā Inscription of Khāravēla, see above, Vol. XX, p. 77 and note 3.—Ed.]

⁶ Dubreuil does not discuss the composition of avanipati-tritaya which, as pointed out above, signifies the same three powers as Trairājya. It is impossible that the Siṃhaḷa king Mānavamma who ascended the throne in A.D. 668 (Hultzsch)—according to Dubreuil in A.D. 660 and A.D. 691 according to Wijesimha—could have entered the alliance as a crowned king and helped the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I in defeating the Chālukyas in about A. D. 643.

⁷ Fleet originally held the same opinion but subsequently abandoned it (Dyn. Kan. Dist., p. 362 n.).

⁸ See, for instance, the Koppāram plates (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.), the Niḍuparṇu grant (ibid., p. 55), the Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya (ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 238), the Annavaram inscription of Vikramāditya (Nellore Inscriptions, Darsi 2; and Dr. Venkataramanayya's Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikōḷa-Chōḷa, p. 16), the Gooty inscription and the Sorab grant of Vinayāditya, and Nos. 333, 343, 359 and 364 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

occasion. They were routed by Vinayāditya probably in A. D. 678-79, when he was nominated to the throne as indicated by his Jejūri plates and the Togarchēdu grant.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the record **Taḷayakhēḍa-grāma** has been identified by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri with Thairkeḍḍa on the north bank of the river Tēr (Thairna).¹ Dr. Fleet has identified **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya** with portions of the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts.² **Uḷchaḷ** which was situated in this *vishaya* is probably to be identified with **Ulachāla**³ in the Kurnool taluk of the Kurnool district. If this is correct, Fleet's identification of the **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya** will be confirmed. Recently two inscriptions of the Nala dynasty have been obtained, *viz.*, the Rithāpur⁴ plates of Bhavattavarman and the Poḍāgaḍh inscription⁵ of his son Skandavarman, which locate their kingdom somewhere in the Central Provinces on the side of Yeotmal, and Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypore Agency. It is too premature to establish any connection between the **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya** and the Nala country since they are far removed from each other. The present record contains the second known reference to **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya**, the first being found in the Kurnool plates⁶ of Vikramāditya I.

TEXT.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 22⁷विना(न)-
 23 यादित्यसत्याश्रयश्चौ[४*]थिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभ-
 24 द्दारकस्त्वर्वानिवमाज्ञापयति[१*] विदितमस्तु वोस्माभिः चतुर्दशोत्तरषट्ते-
 25 षु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्ध(र्द्ध)मानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वादश(शि) वर्त्तमा-
 26 ने तगरनद्युत्तरसमीपे तळयखेडग्राममधिवसति विजय-
 27 स्त्वस्मावारे आषाढपौर्णिमास्यां दक्षिणायनकाले मर्हकारोवि[ज्ञा]पनया

Third Plate : First Side.

- 28 नलवाडिविषये उक्त्यक्तामग्रामे कौशिकगोत्राय दूशशर्मणे पूर्वस्या-
 29 न्दिशि राजमानेन पञ्चाशन्नि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च कौशिकगोत्राय कण्णश-
 30 भ(र्म)णे राजमानेन पञ्चाशन्नि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च आत्रेयगोत्राय स-
 31 र्वशर्मणे राजमानेन पञ्चाशन्नि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च गार्ग्यायणगोत्र-
 32 सव(र्व)शर्मणे दक्षिणस्यान्दिशि राजमानेन पञ्चाशन्नि(त्रि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं
 33 सर्व्ववाय(धा)परिहारं दत्ता(त्ता)नि [॥*] वेदव्यासेन व्यासेनोक्त[म् ॥*]

अस्मदंश(शै)र-

34-36 Imprecatory verses.

- 37 किमि[ः*] श्रीरामपुण्यव[ल्ल]भसेना . राजन(जेन) लिखितं [॥*]

¹ M. E. R., 1916, p. 130.

² Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 363.

³ Alphabetical List of Villages in the Madras Presidency, Kurnool district, p. 5.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

⁵ M. E. R., 1922, p. 80, No. 283; above, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 f.

⁶ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 225 ff. Since the Madakasira taluk now belongs to the Anantapur district, Anantapur should be substituted for Bellary in Fleet's identification of this *vishaya*.

⁷ Lines 1 to 22 are a reproduction of the first eighteen lines of the Jejūri plates (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 63-4).

No. 8.—SILAHARA CAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, Calcutta.

The inscriptions which are edited here for the first time were found in Caves at Silaharā in the Rewah State, Central India. More than twenty-five years ago a rubbing of one of these records was sent by a schoolmaster to Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the celebrated archæologist of C. P., who in his turn some time ago brought it to the notice of the Government Epigraphist, Dr. Hirananda Sastri. During the year 1927-28, the latter officer visited the caves and published an account of the same together with a summary of their inscriptions on pp. 136-8 of the *Archæol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, of the same year. The estampages which he took during his official visit to the monuments were kindly made over to me for detailed treatment, and the present paper is the result of it.

The caves at Silaharā are about sixteen miles to the north-east of Jaithāri, a station on the Katni-Bilaspur Branch of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. It lies between Latitude 23° 2' North and Longitude 81° 50' East. They are a group of four artificial caves with traces of one more excavation and are situated on the east bank of a small river called the Kēvāñ, presenting a picturesque view. The name *Silaharā*, as suggested by Dr. Sastri, is probably a modern form of *Śilāgrīha* which occurs as *silāgahā* in these inscriptions. Of these four monuments, only three, namely, the Sītāmāḍī, the Durvāsā and the Chēri-Gōḍaḍī Caves are well preserved. The fourth has a hole in the roof of one of its cells. The first three caves only contain inscriptions, some of which are in the Brāhmī script, and some in the 'Shell' characters. Here, we are concerned only with the inscriptions in the Brāhmī script.

From the form of the letters all these inscriptions except one seem to belong to the first century A.D. What is palæographically worthy of note about them is that the characters *p* and *v* have occasionally flat and angular bases and that the base-line of *n* also is sometimes slightly curved. These peculiarities are first clearly noticeable in the cave inscriptions of Ushavadāta, which pertain to the beginning of the second century A.D. But there they appear as the permanent and not incidental forms of those letters. Moreover, besides *p* and *v*, the letters *kh*, *gh*, *j* and *m* are found in Ushavadāta's epigraphs invariably with flat and angular bases, which are not noticeable at all in our cave inscriptions. The inference is not unreasonable that our epigraphs are slightly earlier in date than those of Ushavadāta; and if the latter belong to the first quarter of the second century, we cannot be far from right if we assign the Silaharā inscriptions to about the middle of the first century A.D.

Other palæographic peculiarities also deserve to be noticed. Thus *d* consists of two curves,—one concave and one convex, joined in one way or the other and thus giving rise to two different forms of *d*. Similarly, the letter *t* appears in two different forms. The character *m* in *Sivamīta* in No. 3, l. 3, is unlike *m* in other places in these inscriptions, and as such is worthy of note.

These are seven inscriptions. All of them except two bear more or less the same import. They are engraved in the inner walls of the caves, the Durvāsā containing one, and the Chēri-Gōḍaḍī two and the Sītāmāḍī three. The last of these caves has one more inscription but incised on a pillar and with a different import. All these records are complete as far as they go, but the longest and most detailed of these is that engraved in the Durvāsā Cave. In the Sītāmāḍī Cave, however, while one inscription is complete, the other has apparently not been fully incised, supposing of course that the whole of it has been copied in the estampage before us. The object of the inscriptions is to record the excavation of caves by the *amātya* Maudgaliputra Mūladēva of the Vatsa-gōtra, while Svāmīdatta was the ruler of the kingdom. Who this Svāmī-

datta was is not known. We know of only one Svāmidatta who according to the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription was king of Kōṭṭūra in Dakṣiṇāpatha and was conquered by Samudragupta who flourished in the fourth century A.D. But the Svāmidatta of our inscriptions must have lived in the first century. And there is neither epigraphic nor numismatic evidence to point to any king of this name during this period.

As we have just seen, the caves were excavated, not by the king Svāmidatta, but by his minister Mūladēva, whose pedigree for three generations has been given. He was son of Sivamita (=Sivamitra), grandson of Sivadata (=Sivadatta), and great grandson of Sivānamdi (=Sivānandi). It is worthy of note that the terms used for 'grandson' and 'great grandson' are *natika* (= *naptrika*) and *panatika* (= *pranaptrika*), but they are obviously used in the sense of *pautra* and *prapautra*. These last words no doubt generally occur in the inscriptions of Aśoka, but they are sometimes replaced by the other words also in some versions of his edicts (cf. e.g., the Girnār with the other copies of RE. IV.).

What the original object of these excavations was may be now briefly considered. The inscriptions found in the Chēri-Gōdaḍi and Sitāmāḍi Caves simply say that they were *silāgahā* or rock mansions, but that engraved in the Durvāsā Cave describes it as *ārāmam pavate* or 'pleasure-house on the hill'. There can be little doubt that they were intended as dens for mirth and frolic. This inference is supported by Inscriptions Nos. 6—7 in the Sitāmāḍi Cave. They are no doubt engraved in characters of the second century A.D., and are thus one century posterior to the other epigraphs. Nevertheless, they are sufficiently close in time to the others. Now one inscription reads *Yuvati-māle* = *Yuvati-mālē*. *Mālam* means "a high ground, rising or elevated ground". The word occurs in v. 16 of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*, where the word is thus explained by Mallinātha: *śaila-prāyam-unnata-sthalam*, 'an elevated hilly place.' Consequently *Yuvati-māle* is to be understood as denoting some hill place for meeting young women. The other inscription reads *Udaya-tārā*, 'the Rising Star', which apparently is the name of some female artiste. The Silaharā Caves thus seem to have been excavated for sportive and merry-making purposes and continued as such for at least a century more. All the caves except one that have so far been discovered were intended as religious edifices. If we take the Buddhist caves, they were either *chaityas*, 'worship halls' or *layanas* 'residences for monks'. If we take the Brahmanic or Jaina caves, they were cut to serve as temples or abode of ascetics. The only exception just referred to is the two caves of Rāmgarh, called Sitābhēngā and Jōgīmārā¹. The former of these was apparently an amphitheatre, and the latter a love den. Both have an inscription each. That in the first contains some verses in praise of poetry. That in the second purports to say that there was a *dēvadāsī*, Sutanukā by name, who was loved by Devadinna, native of Bārāpasī and a banker (*rūpadaksha*) by profession.² It appears that the Jōgīmārā Cave was excavated originally by Devadinna for gratifying his amorous propensities. The Silaharā Caves also were perhaps cut for the same purpose, and served as pleasure retreats to Mūladēva, minister of Svāmidatta.

This Mūladēva, as stated above, has been described both as Vachha (=Vātsa) and Mogaliputa (=Maudgaliputra). The first is a patronymic and shows that he belonged to the Vatsa-gōtra, that, in other words, he was a Brāhmaṇ. The second is a metronymic and means "son of (a woman) of the Mudgala or Maudgala family". Mudgala is a section of both the Bharadvāja and the Atri-gōtra.³ Maudgala again is a section not only of the Bharadvāja or the Vasishṭha, but also of the Bhṛigu-gōtra.⁴ The mother of Mūladēva may have belonged to any one of these

¹ A. S. I., *An. Rep.*, 1903-04, pp. 74-5 and pp. 123 ff.

² Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscr.*, No. 921. I, however, differ from the Professor in regard to the interpretation of *lupadaksha*. For this technical sense of the word *rūpa*, see my *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 124 ff.

³ *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba*, p. 63, l. 9 and p. 81, l. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62, l. 5; p. 110, l. 14; and p. 37, l. 5.

gōtras except Bhrigu. She could not have come of the Bhrigu, because her husband, being a Vātsa, was a Bhrigu.¹ Let us in this connection discuss the significance of the Vedic metronymics which occur in cave and such early inscriptions. Bühler says in one place that "numerous instances in the northern and southern inscriptions show that the queens and princesses were frequently called by the Vedic *gōtra*-names, such as the Gautamī, the Vātsī, the Vāsishthī, the Gārgī, etc."² The remark is true so far as it goes, but he forgets that the Brāhmaṇ women also had such *gōtra*-names. One such instance is of course furnished by our inscriptions which call Mūladēva's mother Maudgalī; another, by a Nāsik Cave record which speaks of a Brāhmaṇ Aśvibhūti as Vārāhīputra³; and a third by a Malavalli pillar inscription in Monumental Prākṛit which mentions the Brāhmaṇ grantee Nāgadatta as not only of the Kaundinya-*gōtra* but also as Kauśikīputra.⁴ Now, the first question that here arises is: what was the use of these metronymics at all? There can be but one reply. When and where polygamy is in vogue, it is absolutely necessary to distinguish the sons of one wife from those of another. The practice is still prevalent in Rājputānā. If a Rājput prince marries more than one princess, they are always distinguished one from the other, according as she is a Hādī-ji, Rāṇavat-ji and so forth. Such must have been the case in Ancient India also. Kings certainly married more than one queen who were therefore known by the family names of their fathers. But it is worthy of note that this polygamy was present in Ancient India not only among the Kshatriyas but also among the Brāhmaṇs as the three instances adduced above clearly show.

The second question that now arises is this. If the Brāhmaṇs have metronymics derived from the Vedic *Gōtras*, that is just what might be expected. But why should such *gōtras* be in vogue among the Kshatriyas, at any rate among the members of the ruling class? Let us take for example the Śātavāhana family, whose inscriptions have been found in the Nāsik, Kārle and Kanheri Caves. The earliest of them is called Gautamīputra; his son, Vāsishthīputra; and one of their successors, Māḍharīputra. These metronymics are clearly formed from the Brahmanic *gōtras*, and the wonder of it is how they are found in a ruling dynasty. In explanation of this fact it has been argued by some that the Śātavāhanas were of the Brāhmaṇ caste,⁵ and in support of this position our attention has been drawn to two passages from Nāsik Cave Inscription 2⁶. The first, which is from l. 5, is *khatriya-dapa-māna-mādanasa*, "of (Gautamīputra), who humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas". From this it is inferred that Gautamīputra could not have been a Kshatriya. For, if he had been a Kshatriya, there would have been no propriety in his saying that he put down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas. What was he then by caste? Is there anything in that inscription which throws light upon the subject? We are thus referred to a second passage in the Nāsik Inscription, namely, *ekabamhaṇasa*, which has been rendered by Senart as "the unique Brāhmaṇa". Some scholars are thus of opinion that the Śātavāhanas were undoubtedly Brāhmaṇ by caste. It is true that in this translation of the passage Senart practically follows Bühler, who renders it by "of him who alone (was worthy of the name of) a Brāhmaṇa"⁷. But it is forgotten that the word *bamhaṇa* of the Prākṛit original can be equated not only with the Sanskrit *Brāhmaṇa* as was done by Bühler and Senart but also with *brahmaṇya* as was first suggested by R. G. Bhandarkar, who

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33, l. 10.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 394.

³ Lüders, *loc. cit.*, No. 1131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 1196.

⁵ H. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 280-1.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

⁷ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

translates it by "the only supporter of Brāhmaṇs"¹. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, takes *bamhaṇa* as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa*, but takes the expression to mean 'the only holy man'.² Personally I would prefer the first. But whatever interpretation is approved, this much is certain that *bamhaṇa* need not necessarily be taken as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa* and can also stand for *brahmaṇya*, and thus the prop in support of the Brāhmaṇ origin of the Śātavāhanas becomes feeble and shaky. How then, it may be asked, are we to explain the first of the passages which has been quoted from Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 2 and which represents Gautamīputra to have humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas? Even if we take the word *Kshatriya* here in its usual sense, namely, the second of the four castes, the passage in question at the most would prove that Gautamīputra was a non-Kshatriya, but not necessarily that he was a Brāhmaṇ. Are we, however, compelled to take this word in this sense? Cannot *khatiya* (= *Kshatriya*) bear any other signification? In this connection we must remember that there was a tribe called Kshatriya or Kshattri, mentioned both by foreign writers and in Sanskrit literature. Thus Arrian who wrote an account of Alexander's invasion of India says that when this Macedonian emperor was in camp on the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, he received deputies and presents from Xathroi (Khathroi), an independent tribe of Indians.³ The same tribe is apparently mentioned as Kshatriyas by Ptolemy.⁴ As has been pointed out by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal⁵, they appear to be mentioned by Kauṭilya along with the Kāmbojas and Surāshtras as the Saṃghas subsisting both upon agriculture and arms. They are no doubt the Kshattri described in the *Manusmṛiti*, and the Kshatriyas of the later inscriptions (see e.g., the Lāḍnū Inscription of Sādhāraṇa⁶ who and his ancestors are spoken of as Kshatriyas of the Kāśyapa-gōtra). They appear to be represented by the Khattris of the modern day. Originally, however, they formed an independent tribe living not far from the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus. It will thus be seen that this tribe may very well have been the Kshatriyas whose pride and conceit Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi crushed down. If the latter went on conquering as far northwards as the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas, there is nothing strange in his putting down the Kshatriyas who lived in their neighbourhood just as the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman is reputed to have exterminated the Yaudhēyas⁷. No irrefragible evidence is thus forthcoming from Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 2, or, for the matter of that, from any source, which demonstrates that the Śātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇs. On the other hand, there is a passage in the same Nāsik Cave Inscription which is worth considering here. It is the passage where Gautamī Balaśrī is called *rājarisi-vadhusadam akhilaṃ anuvīdhīyamānā*, "wholly conforming to the title 'wife of the Royal Sage'". It may be pertinently asked: what is meant by a *Rājarshi* (Royal Sage)? It may be contended that the term simply denotes 'a sage-like king', be he a Brāhmaṇ or a Kshatriya. But it has to be remembered that *Rājarshi* is always employed in contradistinction to Brahmarshi which unquestionably means 'a Brāhmaṇ Sage'. The use of the term *Rājarshi* is thus enough to show that the Śātavāhanas were not Brāhmaṇs.

Or we may set aside the Śātavāhanas for a while and consider the Ikshvākus of the south whose inscriptions have been found in the Āndhra country at Jaggayyapēṭa and Nāgarjunikonda. That the Ikshvākus were the Kshatriyas of the solar race is too well-known to be pointed

¹ *Trans. Inter. Cong. Ori.*, London, 1874, pp. 310-11.

² *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 552 and 554.

³ McCrindle's *Ancient India: Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 156.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 360.

⁵ *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 60.

⁶ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 23 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 44, l. 12.

out. And yet we have in this dynasty three kings, two of whom bear the metronymic Vāsishṭhīputra and one Mātharīputra.¹ Related to these Ikshvākus are personages holding titles of nobility such as Mahā-sēnāpati and Mahā-talavara. Even they bear such metronymics. If we turn westwards again and consider the cave inscriptions, we find that even there, feudatory chieftains styling themselves as Mahārāṭhi, Mahā-sēnāpati and Mahā-bhōja possess similar metronymics. The question therefore arises: how were these Vedic metronymics in vogue among the ruling classes most of which were presumably Kshatriya by caste? According to Bühler, "the explanation is no doubt that these *gōtras* originally were those of the Purōhitas of the royal or noble families, from which the queens were descended, and that the kings were affiliated to them for religious purposes, as the Śrautasūtras indicate".² But was it so really from 150 B.C. to 250 A.D.? Bühler is apparently taking his stand upon the Śrautasūtras. What the Śrautasūtras, however, lay down in the case of a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya is the adoption, not of the Gōtra but of the Pravaras of his Purōhita. Thus the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra³ says: *Kshatriya-Vaiśyāṇāṃ purōhita-pravarō bhavat=īti vijñāyatē*. The Āpastamba⁴ has: *atha yēshāṃ (=Kshatriyāṇāṃ) mantrakṛtō na syuḥ sa-purōhita-pravarās=tē pravṛjīran*. From these quotations it is clear that what a Kshatriya borrowed from his Purōhita for religious purposes was, not his Gōtra, but his Pravaras. It may perhaps be argued that one set of Pravaras presupposes one specific Gōtra only, so that when that Gōtra name is pronounced, only that particular set of Pravaras is indicated. Nor is this argument well-founded. One instance will suffice for our purpose. Let us take the Maṭhara-gōtra from which the metronymic Mātharīputra is derived. It has the three Pravaras: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva. But, these Pravaras, Maṭhara possesses in common with at least eighty other Gōtras, such as Kāśyapa, Chhāgari and so forth. There is no such thing as one set of Pravaras for one Gōtra and one Gōtra only. Even supposing that a Kshatriya affiliates himself to his Purōhita's Gōtra for religious purposes as Bühler supposes, why should that Gōtra be binding upon the Kshatriya for secular purposes, why in other words, should the Kshatriya avoid marriage, not in his proper exogamous group, but in the same Gōtra as that of his Purōhita, though the Gōtra is natural to a Brāhmaṇ but an extraneous something which is foisted upon him? Nowhere is it laid down in any Sūtra or similar writings, explicitly or implicitly, that a Kshatriya, like his Purōhita, shall not marry in the same Vedic Gōtra. Besides, it is not a fact that even in this period the member of a ruling family had a metronymic invariably derived from a Brahmanical Gōtra. Two instances will suffice to prove our point. There is an Amarāvati Buddhist sculpture, the inscription on which records the gift of an *upāsaka* Buddharakshita, who is therein called Gomḍīputa.⁵ It is evident from this that his mother was Gōmḍī which no scholar has yet been able to explain. The term Gōmḍī indicates that she belonged to the Gumḍa family which, however, is not known to be any Vedic Gōtra. It may however be contended that this Buddharakshita originally was not a Brāhmaṇ or a Kshatriya, and so his metronymic has no bearing upon our discussion. Let us therefore take another, namely, Gotiputa, which, we find, was borne by persons of three different ranks, namely, by a king, a Mahārāṭhi and a goldsmith. Possibly this goldsmith also was neither a Brāhmaṇ nor a Kshatriya, and may therefore be set aside. But what about the king and the nobleman styling themselves Gotiputa which has been equated by scholars with Gaupṭiputa, son of a woman belonging to the Gupta race. Surely Gupta, Gota, or Guta has not yet been

¹ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 394.

³ *Pravara-praśna*, 54.

⁴ *Pravara-khaṇḍa*, 15.

⁵ Lüders, *loc. cit.*, No. 1271.

shown to be the name of any Vedic Gōtra. This clearly shows that we have personages of the ruler or nobility class bearing a metronymic not connected with any Vedic Gōtra. Again, let us see who was this ruler that called himself Gotiputa. The inscription which makes mention of him is engraved on the pillar of a *tōraṇa* which was originally found at Bharaut but which is now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It records that the gateway was erected by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputa Āgaraju (= Gaupīputra Āṅāradyut), and grandson of the king (*rājan*) Gārgīputra Viśvadēva, during the rule of the Śuṅgas.¹ As Viśvadēva is here called a *rājan*, there can be no doubt that his son and grandson pertained to a ruling family. And further it is worthy of note that whereas Viśvadēva and Dhanabhūti are styled Gārgīputra and Vātsīputra, showing that their mothers bore the Vedic Gōtra, Āṅāradyut alone is styled Gotiputa showing that his mother belonged to the Gupta family which was anything but a Vedic Gōtra. The other instance of the occurrence of Gotiputa as a metronymic is supplied by the epigraph on the lion column standing in front of the *chaitya* cave at Kārle. It says that the column was set up by one Agnimitraṇaka (Agnimitra) who was a Mahārāṭhi and a Gotiputra, which Prof. Lüders takes to mean 'son of a *Gaupī*'.² Mahārāṭhi denotes a feudatory rank. Agnimitra was thus a feudatory chief, and yet he bears a metronymic which is in no way derived from a Vedic Gōtra. A third non-Vedic metronymic which may be considered here is that furnished by an inscription on a relic casket found in Sonari Stūpa No. II near Bhilsā. It mentions the name of a Buddhist Missionary who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries. His personal name is not given, but he is called Kotiputa and Kāsapagota.³ His metronymic merits special notice as his original caste is here specified. For we have just seen that he is called Kāsapagota which means that his father was a Brāhmaṇ. But what was he from his mother's side? She was evidently a 'Koti' which is taken by Prof. Lüders as equivalent to Kauntī. But the Professor does not explain what he means by Kauntī. Kauntī, as it is, has to be derived from Kunta, but Kunta as the name of a family or a clan is unknown. The only clan name that approximates to it is Kuntī, a Yādava clan, whose ruler, Kuntibhōja, being childless, adopted Kuntī, the first wife of Pāṇḍu. It will thus be seen that the word Kuntī itself means "(a woman) descended from Kuntī". The Buddhist missionary Kāsapagota would thus have been called Kuntīputra, and not Kauntīputra, if his mother had pertained to the Kuntī lineage. Perhaps the best explanation of the metronymic Kotiputa is to say that his mother belonged not to the Kuntī, but to the Kota, clan. That Kota was the name of a ruling family is clear from the fact that their coins have been found round about Delhi and in Eastern Panjāb.⁴ Besides, the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription speaks of Samudragupta as having captured a scion of the Kōta family.⁵ The Kotas and the Guptas thus were both ruling families in the fourth century A.D. And if they were so ruling side by side in that century, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that both the clans were in existence about the beginning of the Christian era. The metronymic Kotiputa therefore had better be equated with Kautīputra and the inference drawn that the mother of the Buddhist teacher Kāsapagota came from the Kota family. But whatever the correct explanation of Kotiputa may be, this much is certain that the mother of the Buddhist missionary belonged to a non-Vedic Gōtra.

The above discussion is enough to convince any one that members of the ruling and nobility classes bore metronymics which were sometimes Vedic and sometimes non-Vedic. Similarly,

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 687.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1088.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 158.

⁴ Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pp. 258 and 264.

⁵ Fleet's *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 6, l. 14.

we have just seen that the Buddhist saint who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries was born of a Brāhmaṇ father as his patronymic Kāsapagota shows, but that his mother was a Kshatriya woman as she was a Kota by extraction. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that in the ancient period ranging from circa 150 B.C. to circa 250 A.D. there were many inter-caste marriages, which were not only *anulōma* but also *pratilōma*. The history of the Ikshvākus of South India clearly shows that the Brāhmaṇs were ready to give their daughters in marriage to the Kshatriyas if they but belonged to the ruling family.

TEXT.

Inscription in the Duvāsā Cave.

No. 1.

- 1 Sāmi[da]te rajam kārayamtaṁmhi Sivānamdi-panatī[k]ena
- 2 Sivadata-natik[e]na
- 3 Sivamī[ta]-putena
- 4 [Vachhena] M[o]galiputena
- 5 [Mūla*]d[e*]v[e*]na arāmaṁ pavate ropāpita[m]

Inscriptions in the Chērī-Gōdaḍī Cave.

No. 2.

- 1 [Sivā][namd*]i-[pa*][na]t[i]k[e*][na]
- 2 Sivadata-natikena Si[vamita-putena*] [Vachhena*]
- 3 [Mo*][ga]liputena amache[na] Mūladevena śi[lāga]hā [kā]ritā.

No. 3.

- 1 Sivānamdi-panatikena
- 2 Sivadata-natikena
- 3 Sivamita-[putena]¹

Inscriptions in the Sītāmāḍī Cave.

No. 4.

- Sivānamdi-panatikena Sivadata-natikena Sivamita-putena Vachhena Mogaliputena
Mūladevena amachena śilāgahā kārītā.

No. 5.

- Sivānamdi-panatikena Sivadata²

No. 6.

- Yuvati-māle³

No. 7.

- Udaya-tārā⁴

¹ This whole line has been faintly engraved.

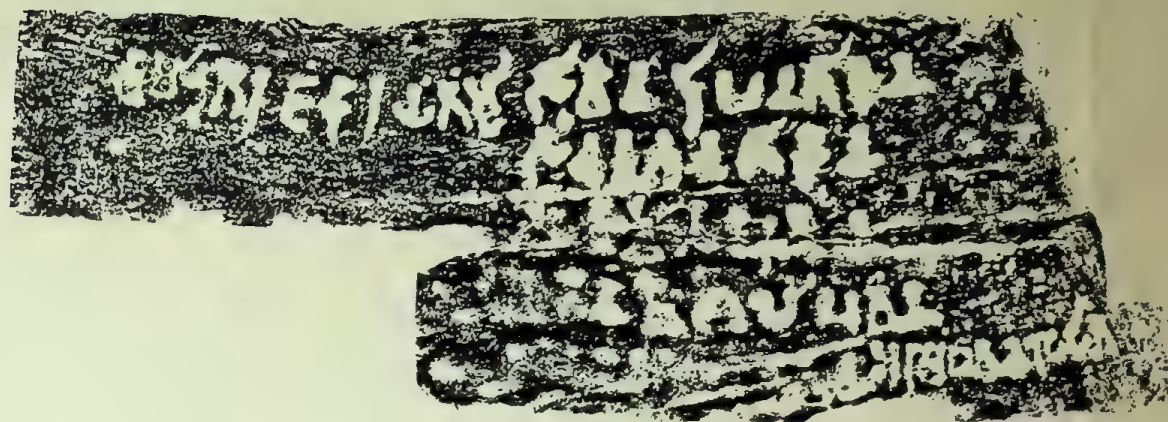
² The remainder has not been either engraved in the Cave or copied in the estampage.

³ On a pillar, in characters slightly later, probably of the second century A.D.

⁴ On the east wall, in characters of the second century A.D.

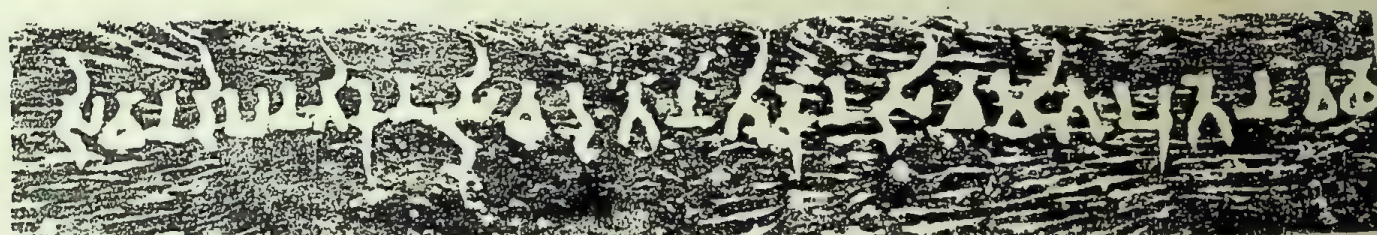
SILAHARA CAVE INSCRIPTIONS.
Inscription in the Durvasa Cave.

No. 1.



Inscriptions in the Sitamadi Cave.

No. 4.—First Section.



No. 4.—Second Section.



No. 6.



No. 7.



No. 9.—A BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KARA.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

According to a report published in the 'Leader' of the 7th August, 1932, the inscribed plate under consideration was presented to the Allahābād Archæological Society by Sheikh Jamal Ahmad, the Senior Vice-Chairman of the Allahābād District Board and a Zamindar of Kara. Kara is a place of historical importance and is situated at a distance of about 5 miles north-east from Sirathu and 41 miles from Allahābād. The Secretary of the Allahābād Archæological Society sent the plate to the Director General of Archæology in India who again sent it to the Government Epigraphist for India for decipherment. No information was available as to the exact find place of the inscription.

The plate which measures $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ is of copper and is triangular in shape with the corners rounded off. It was so shaped evidently for the purpose of fixing it at the bottom of an image which must have been the object of gift mentioned in the inscription. An image of Buddha with a similar inscribed plate fixed at the bottom of the pedestal was discovered years ago in the neighbourhood of Gayā.¹

The present record contains $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines of writing which is in a fair state of preservation with the exception of 3 or 4 letters at the beginning of the first line and 2 or 3 letters at the commencement of the second. These letters have partly rubbed off and grown indistinct. The fifth letter in the third line is damaged and this injury to the plate seems to have been caused by some sharp instrument striking against it. The weight of the plate is $8\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

The most interesting feature of this inscription is its palæography. The alphabet of the record is of the 'arrow-head' variety. Bendall first discovered this script in some manuscripts from Nepāl and brought it to the notice of scholars in the 7th International Oriental Congress². Later on, while editing the inscription from Gayā, he pointed out that the script used in the Gayā record was the same as that used in the Nepalese manuscripts referred to above, the only difference being that the former showed 'wedges' instead of 'arrow-heads' at the top of the letters.³ The script used in the present record is practically the same as that found in the Gayā inscription. Very few inscriptions written in this script have been discovered till now. Besides the two just mentioned, I am aware of only five other inscriptions written in this script but none of the latter has so far been published. One of them is stated to be inscribed on the pedestal of a statue of Jambhala⁴ which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Waddel notices four other inscriptions in this script which he discovered at Uren⁵ in the Mungīr District of Bihār.

Bendall identified this script with the *Bhaikshukī lipi* mentioned by Albīrūnī. According to the latter scholar this script was 'the writing of Buddha' and was used in Uduṇpur in Pūrva-dēśa.⁶ Probably by saying that this script was the writing of Buddha, Albīrūnī meant to say that it was usually employed by Buddhist monks—for which reason it came to be known as *Bhaikshukī* or that of the *bhikshus*. All the inscriptions in this script which we know so far have

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 77 and *Fleet C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 19, note 1. In the references quoted above the image is stated to have belonged to James Robinson, C. E. of Gayā. The same image later on seems to have passed into the possession of Mr. Saurindra Mohan Sinha of Bhāgalpur who presented it to the Museum of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad, where it is now preserved. See R. D. Banerji, *History of Bengal* (in Bengali), 2nd ed., p. 85, and *Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. XX, pp. 153 ff.

² *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses*, Aische Section, p. 111.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 77 f.

⁴ See *Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. XX, pp. 155.

⁵ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 17 and Pl. IV, Nos. 1-2.

⁶ Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, i, p. 178.

come from Magadha or its neighbourhood in Eastern India. Uduppur is evidently the Uddandapura of inscriptions and Otantapuri of the Tibetan writers and is identified with the modern Bihār.¹

Bendall has already pointed out that this script has no connection with Nāgarī but is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of the Brāhmī. Devoid of the wedges it conforms, on the whole, to the script used in India during the 4th century A. D. but what seems strange is that it has so far been found usually in the dedicatory inscriptions engraved on statues coming from Eastern India which can only belong to the period between the 8th and the 12th centuries A. D. The main features of this script have already been discussed by Bendall and Bühler and the latter scholar has drawn attention to the characteristic points of this script which indicate its southern origin. Till we are in possession of further facts we cannot trace the gradual development of this script nor can we fix with certainty the date of its introduction. If the identification of this script with the *Bhaikshukī lipi* of Albīrūnī is correct then this script must have been used in Eastern India side by side with the Eastern Nāgarī which is the usual script found in the inscriptions of that period.

It may not be out of place here to point out a parallel instance that we find in the Śāradā script. Though a descendant of the Western Gupta alphabet it is found employed in Kashmir and in the north-eastern Punjab only from the 9th century A. D. In this case too we perceive that from the end of the 13th century to the 15th century Śāradā and Nāgarī were used simultaneously at least in the Kāngra² District. This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility that both the arrow-head and Śāradā scripts might have been used as literary scripts from an earlier period though they came to be employed as epigraphical scripts only at a later period.

I have already pointed out that the script of this inscription is very similar to that of the Gayā inscription referred to above and Bendall's general remarks on the palaeography of the latter will be applicable to the present inscription also. Here I shall notice only the points of difference found in the letters of these two inscriptions or those points which have not been dealt with by Bendall before. Thus *k* in the Gayā inscription is, as in the Kushāṇa and Gupta scripts, written with a curve at the lower end but in the present inscription this curve is differently shaped and the stroke to the right is not noticeable. *Ch* and *j* are more angular in this inscription than in the Nepalese manuscript while *ñ*, *r* and *n* have all curves at the lower end. *Ṇ* in the present inscription is more akin to the form found in the manuscript than to that in the Gayā inscription. *N* is as in the manuscript with no loop to the left. *P* has two forms: where it is joined with the vowel *ā* it is open to the right and is distinguishable from *d* only by a small cross stroke across the end of the hook to the right; in other cases it has a wedge to the left. *B* is similar to *p* in shape the only difference being that it is closed at the top. The loop in *m* is much bigger here than in the Gayā inscription. *L* is of the same type as we find in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and also in the Pāhārpur copper plate inscription.³ In conjunction with the vowel sign *ē* the consonants have usually a wedge to the right (cf. *āē°* in l. 3).

The inscription is written in correct **Sanskrit** and bears no date. It opens with an assertion of the impermanent nature of an individual being. Such an averment is quite in keeping

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110. According to the author of *Pag Sam Jon Zang* Otantapuri was the name of a great shrine situated in the neighbourhood of Nālandā. According to him *Otanta* means 'the soaring on high' (Skt. *udḍayan*?). This name was given to this shrine because of its loftiness—See *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, ed. S. C. Das, Index, p. clii.

² See Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part i (*A. S. I. New Imperial Series*, Vol. XXXVI), p. 44.

³ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff and Plate.

A BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KARA.



with the Buddhist doctrine according to which the realization of the impermanent nature of all things leads to the attainment of right knowledge. After this short introductory sentence, the inscription registers the gift of the queen¹ Chandalladēvi who was a lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka* Mahipāla. No further details of the donatrix or her husband are given in the inscription. We cannot trace this Mahipāla in any other inscription known to us but the title *Rāṇaka* shows that he was at the most a feudatory of some paramount ruler. This title is found so far as the inscriptions of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa are concerned only from the 9th century onwards.² Till further evidence is forthcoming we cannot say definitely who was the overlord of this *Rāṇaka* Mahipāla.

TEXT.

- 1 N[ā]ma-[rū]pam=anityam | Rāṇaka-śrī-
 2 Mahipāla-ba(va)dhū-paramōpāsi-
 3 ka-rājñī-śrī-[Cha]ndalladēvyā dē-
 4 ya-dharmō=yaṁ||

TRANSLATION:

The individual being (lit. name and form) is impermanent. This is the religious gift of the queen (*Rājñī*) Chandalladēvi, a devout female lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious Mahipāla.

No. 10.—TINNEVELLY INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

BY

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The subjoined inscription of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I is engraved on the outside of the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the Nelliappar temple at Tinnevely. It was copied in 1894 by the Madras Epigraphical Department³ and the text of it is given in Tamil in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V⁴. So far, no inscription of this king has been edited critically in the pages of this Journal or the *South-Indian Inscriptions*. For the highly interesting information which the record contains, both in its historical introduction and in its grant portion, it is taken up here for publication.

The inscription consists of 28 lines of writing. It is in Tamil prose and verse. Though the alphabet employed is Tamil, Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words such as *svasti śrī* (l. 1), *āśrayalinga* (l. 21), *Rājarāja-chohaturvēdimāṅgalam* (ll. 22, 24), *viśeṣa-pūjāi* (l. 24), etc. The introductory portion alone runs from line 1 to line 20 and is composed in Tamil verse of *Agaval* metre. It contains more than 125 metrical lines. The name of the poet that composed it is not given as is the case with all Tamil inscriptions; but there is no doubt that it is a creditable piece of work. The rest of the inscription is in prose.

¹ The inscription uses the term *Rājñī* which has evidently been used as the feminine form of *Rāṇaka*.

² Cf. the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Magadha and those of the Sēna, Varman and Chandra kings of Bengal. The Bhaṇja kings Śatrubhaṇja and Raṇabhaṇja bore the title of *Rāṇaka* (*Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1490, 1492-95). This title is also found in the Ganjām and Bānpur Plates of Daṇḍimahādēvi. The Rajput title *Rāṇā* evidently originated from *Rāṇaka*.

³ No. 140 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1894.

⁴ No. 431 on pages 155-157.

There are several mistakes of commission and omission in this record, especially in the verse portion of it. While some of them are due to the negligence and ignorance of the engraver, others must be attributed to the scribe that committed the record to writing and passed it for being incised on stone. Though the mistakes are too many to be catalogued here, attention may be drawn to a few. Under mistakes of spelling may be noted *malar-rtāmarai* (l. 4) where *r* takes the place of *t*, *Puliyūr-tiru* (l. 7) where *r* has to be replaced by *rt* and *malar-chchēvaḍi* (l. 8) and *tīrkum* (l. 11) where *r* has to be corrected into *r* and *rk* respectively. *Sūram* and *puruṣai* in line 6, *tiri*, *tiliya* in line 10 and *muṭkaṭ* (l. 12), *ōna* (l. 11), *polavar* (l. 17), *y-aruvayar* (l. 19) are mistakes for *śuram*, *puriṣai*, *tirai*, *tiriya*, *mukkaṭ*, *ōda*, *pulavar* and *y-arivaiyar*. Under omission of letters and words, the following may be cited :—*yu* is omitted after *kāvi* (l. 5), *v* is omitted in the middle of *de* of *kkuradeṅgaḷ* (l. 11), *māḍamum* is omitted before *māḷigai* (l. 5) and *ṇu* is omitted after *ma* in *iyamakku* (l. 13). For wrong insertion of letters see *mudaliya(r)* (l. 3), *dāṇḍ(u)dagam* (l. 10), *kaḷi(kki)rril* (l. 12) and *kum(sa)ba* (l. 17). Errors in grammatical forms are found in *vēndargaḷaiikkurra* (l. 11) which must be *vēndargaḷukk-urraṇ*-, *mārvēḷaiikku* for *mār-vēḷukku* (l. 10) and *vaḍa-Koṅgaṇṇai* (l. 11) which must be *vaḍa-Koṅgaṇ*.

In the purely eulogistic account which runs from line 1 to line 4, the panegyrist states that when this king was crowned, the bow and the tiger, which are the crests of the **Chēra** and **Chōḷa** kings,¹ disappeared; and the fish, which is the crest of the **Pāṇḍya**,² sported on the golden mountain, i.e., **Mēru**; the Tamil and Vedic literature prospered; and all kings paid their tributes. Reference is made to the garland of Indra worn by the Pāṇḍya. From line 4 commences the historical portion. On being crowned, the king is said to have sent a large army against the Chōḷa country, to have set on fire **Taṇjai** (i.e., Tanjore) and **Uṇḍai** (i.e., Uṇḍiyūr), the principal cities of the Chōḷas, to have destroyed many tanks, rivers and water sources, halls, fortifications, towers, theatres, mansions, palaces and pavilions, to have ploughed the enemy's country with asses, to have driven the Chōḷa king into the forest and to have taken away his crown. The victorious Pāṇḍya king is then said to have gone to **Āyirattai**³ where he performed the anointment of heroes; to have entered the sacred city of **Puliyūr**,⁴ i.e., Chidambaram, and paid obeisance to Śiva dancing with his consort in the golden hall⁵ of the temple; and to have finally reached **Poṇṇamarāvati**. While staying in the last-mentioned place, the Pāṇḍya king sent word to the Chōḷa promising to give back **Śōṇāḍu** and the crown which he had lost. On hearing it, the Chōḷa returned with his wife, and presenting his legitimate son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated under the victorious lion-throne of the conqueror and begged. After removing the heat of **Vaḷavaṇ** (i.e., Chōḷa) caused by his flight and loss of territory with a libation of water, the Pāṇḍya gave back to the Chōḷa king's legitimate son the crown and the expansive country (of Śōṇāḍu). In support of this gift, he is also reported to have given a royal writ impressed with the fish seal, the title **Chōḷapati** and his ancient city.

¹ On this account the Chēra is called *Villavaṇ* and the Chōḷa *Puliyuyarttōṇ*.

² *Miṇṇavaṇ* is one of the names of the Pāṇḍya.

³ At the end of the introduction, this place is called by its other name *Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram*.

⁴ *Vyāghrapurī* is the name given to it in Sanskrit. The hymns of the *Dēvāram* refer to it by the names *Tillai* and *Puliyūr* and speak highly of the dance of Śiva in this place. One of the verses of *Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṇār* describes the place thus: *Maṇṇ-ṭṭaṅ-kāval pāṇḍav-ṭṭimaiyār-Pallavarkku=ttirai koḍā maṇṇavarai marukkañ-cheyyam perumaiyār=Puliyūr=chchirrambalatt=emberumāṇai=pperrām=aṇṇē*—

⁵ While the *Tiruvāṅgaḍu* grant states that the Chōḷa king *Parāntaka* I covered the *dabhra-sabhā* with gold, the *Leiden* plates say that he covered the temple at *Vyāghrāgrahāra* (i.e., *Puliyūr*) with gold. One of the stone inscriptions of *Tirugōlur* in the *Pudukkottai* State, dated in the 12th year of *Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga* (I), informs us that that king covered the large hall at Chidambaram with gold (No. 411 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1901).

In the abstract of the historical introduction given above, one point that is particularly worthy of note is that when the Chōla king begged in the manner aforesaid, *viz.*, by presenting his son first, the libation of water was made to himself, while the crown and kingdom were bestowed on his legitimate son.

Now comes the question of the identification of the Chōla king and his legitimate son, that are referred to as having been the recipients of the ignominious honour. There is some difficulty with regard to this. As both Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and Rājarāja III count their regnal years from A.D. 1216, it would be natural to say that the invasion undertaken by the former was against the latter, and that the latter and his son were the ill-fated persons referred to. That this answer, though natural, is superficial and incorrect, and does not take into consideration all the factors that really count in the matter, will be evident from the sequel. In the first place, it is necessary to know when the Pāṇḍya king effected his conquest of the Chōla territory and took the Chōla king's crown and country, and when again he restored them. This last point could be answered by observing the order of mention of the events in the introduction or better still by noting the earliest year in which these events are found registered in the king's inscriptions. The narration of the events in the introduction shows clearly that the invasion of the Chōla country was undertaken immediately after the Pāṇḍya king's coronation. It appears also that the restoration of the captured country was not delayed long, for we are informed that after taking the country the Pāṇḍya king went to Āyirattali and had his anointment performed there, went to Puliūr and paid obeisance to the god Naṭarāja, probably as a thanks-offering, and proceeded to Poṇṇamarāvati where he, inviting the Chōla king, presented to him—or rather his son—the crown and kingdom. The numerous stone inscriptions of the king range in date from the 2nd¹ to the 24th² year. In the earliest of these, *viz.*, the one dated in the 2nd year, 'Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa' (who took the Chōla country) occurs. As such, the country must have been taken in A.D. 1216-17. Since this event, which happened soon after Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I assumed regal powers, 'Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa' became the short title and distinguishing mark of the king. And it is particularly worthy of note that even the inscriptions which commence with the introduction *Pūmaruṇiya* and register all his achievements, when they come to mention the name of the king, mention him with this short title. It thus appears that 'Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa' had become almost a part of his name, that being the first great achievement. As the presentation of the Chōla country is specifically stated to have been made to Kulōttuṅga III in two stone inscriptions³ and as his latest inscriptions show that he reigned for 40 years⁴, *i.e.*, until A. D. 1217, it is clear that the country was given back soon after it was taken in 1216-17. There is no doubt that the Chōla opponent of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I was Kulōttuṅga III and not Rājarāja III, for even though the latter's regnal years are counted from A.D. 1216, his actual rule commenced two years later. Here it may be noted that in the case of most South Indian kings—especially the Chōlas—we know that the regnal years are counted not from the actual date of accession to power but from a prior date which we may take to be the year of their nomination. In some cases, these two dates are very near each other, while in others they are abnormally distant. The specific mention of the fact noted above, *viz.*, that the Chōla country was given back to Kulōttuṅga III precludes our carrying the event to a later date than A.D. 1216-17 up to which only Kulōttuṅga III's inscriptions are found and nothing can be argued

¹ No. 549 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

² No. 394 of the same collection for 1917.

³ No. 72 of the same collection for 1924 and No. 9 of 1926.

⁴ No. 282 of the same collection for 1909.

from the omission of the epithet '*Śōṇādu vaṇaṅgi*' (who presented the Chōḷa country) in the records of Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated prior to the 6th year.¹ Generally, the capturing of a country may be said to have been accompanied by the giving it back to the defeated king on his owning the overlordship of the conqueror and perhaps also on his agreeing to pay a stipulated tribute. Now can it not be said that Rājarāja III was the legitimate son of the Chōḷa king that had the strange honour of being invested with a crown by the enemy Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I under very humiliating conditions? One of the points in favour of this view is that Rājarāja III counted his regnal year from A.D. 1216 when the capture of the Chōḷa country and its restoration by the Pāṇḍya seem to have been effected. Another may be found in the statement of reasons for the second war against the Chōḷa which certainly took place in the reign of Rājarāja III. The very words of the inscription are "*muṇṇam namaḥku muḍi vaṇaṅguṇ-chēvaḍi-kkil inṇam vaḷipaḍuvōm eṇṇādu ēral edir śellād-irai marutta Śēṇṇi viḍu tūsi*," etc. "The Chōḷa (meaning Rājarāja III) who did not mind remaining submissive under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refused to obey his commands, denied him tribute and sent a large army with a vanguard (against the Pāṇḍya)." This clearly suggests that it was to Rājarāja III that Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I gave the crown.

Lines 11 to 13 report that the Pāṇḍya king successively liberated from prison the North and South Koṅgu kings, and attended by these, he entered the palatial city of Madura and received their homage.² At Madura he heard them describe the ancient limits of their territories, and not being satisfied with the fairness of the division, he made a redistribution, made them agree to it and sent them away warning that if any of them should ever transgress the new limit, he would be made a feast for the god of Death. From the last statement it is clear that the kings of the two Koṅgus fought against each other, one encroaching on the limits of the other, and that Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had to interfere in their politics. It is, however, not known how both the kings found themselves in prison. As regards the identification of the Koṅgu kings that are referred to, we might point out that the ruler of South Koṅgu was certainly **Vīrarājendra**,³ whose accession took place in A.D. 1207. Like his predecessor **Vīra-Chōḷa**, he claims to have ruled over the two Koṅgus⁴ : and his latest year of reign known so far is the 45th⁵ corresponding to A.D. 1253. But it is likely that he lived two years more.

The king of North Koṅgu whom Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I rescued from prison may refer to one of the Adigaimāṇ rulers of Tagaḍūr who had possession of North Koṅgu from very early times⁶ or to one of Koṅgu-Chōḷa origin that might have had an independent rule over any part of that province. So far, we know none of the latter. If the reference be to the former, the king may be either **Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ** who figures as a subordinate of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga III in his 22nd year⁷ (A.D. 1200), or his immediate successor. This **Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ** (called also **Viḍugāḍaṇ**, **Viḍugāḍaḷagiyaṇ** or **Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjḡvala**) is

¹ Nos. 341 and 364 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

² The conquest of the two Koṅgus is also referred to in Nos. 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926.

³ No. 135 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Komaralingam is dated in the reign of Tribhuvanaśaḥkravartin Kōṇṇirinaṁkōṇḍāṇ Vīrarājendra and couples the 25th year of his reign with Śaka 1153 (= A.D. 1231).

⁴ No. 106 of the same collection, dated in the 20th year, gives him the title 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'. A number of records attribute to him the surname Rājākēsarivarman (see Nos. 121, 128 and 136 of 1909).

⁵ No. 136 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Kolumam. No. 144 of the same collection is dated in the 21st year of Parākēsarivarman Tribh. Vīra-Chōḷa 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'.

⁶ A. R. on Epigraphy for 1906, Part II, para. 34.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 332-3, and S. I. I., Vol. I, Nos. 75 and 76.

described as the son of Rājarāja Adhikan¹ (Adhika, Adhikēndra, Adigaimān or Adhikēsa) and a lineal descendant of the Kēraḷa king Eḷiṇi² (Yavanika). His capital was Tagaḍai or Teṇ-Tagaḍai, i.e., Dharmapuri in the Salem district and his inscriptions are found at Kambayānallūr, Tirumalai, Cheṅgama, Puṅgaṇūr, Laddigam and Agastyakoṇḍa, written in Sanskrit and Tamil verses.³ The range of his inscriptions, his descent from Eḷiṇi and his capital Tagaḍai clearly show that he was the ruler of Koṅgu (North). As a Chōḷa feudatory, he appears to have restored the Chōḷa dominion in the Gaṅga territory, being entrusted with the charge of it. He claims to have overcome the Kāḍava, the Maḡada and the Gaṅga.⁴

Now a word may be said about the relationship between the Koṅgu and Pāṇḍya kings. While the South Koṅgu king Virarājendra lived during the time of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, by whom he was liberated from prison and was honoured out of friendship, his predecessor Vira-Chōḷa was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I. This is made plain by the fact that a certain chief by name Śōḷaṇ Silambaṇ *alias* Virachōḷa-Laṅkēśvaradēva, who calls himself one of the *sāmantas* of the South Koṅgu king Perumāḷ Vira-Chōḷa, figures in a third year record of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I corresponding to A.D. 1193, as donor of a gift to the temple of Mūlasthānamuḍaiya-Paramasvāmin at Teṇkarai near Shōlavandān, 15 miles from Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.⁵ This chief continued to live in the reign of Virarājendradēva and made gifts in his 20th year to the temple of Tiruvālanduḍai-Uḍaiyār at Tiruvālanduḍai.⁶ The successor of Virarājendra was Vikrama-Chōḷa, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1255.⁷ He was the contemporary of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and stood in the relation of *māchchuṇṇār* (brother-in-law) to both of them.⁸ At his influence, these Pāṇḍya kings made provisions for the maintenance of *maṭhas* in Tinnevely and other places in the Pāṇḍya country where ascetics lived and *tiruvjñānam* was taught.⁹ In the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, which commenced in about A.D. 1167-68 preceding the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I and which was waged between Parākrama-Pāṇḍya assisted by the Singhalese generals Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanātha and Jayadratha-Daṇḍanātha on the one side, and another Kulaśekhara on the other side, the latter is said to have been succoured by two Koṅgu kings who are stated in the *Mahāvamsa* to be the two brothers of his mother.¹⁰ Thus, it would be clear from what has been said above, that, bound by ties of near kinship, the Pāṇḍya and Koṅgu kings were helping each other and were maintaining cordial relationship for nearly a century from A.D. 1167-8.

Lines 14 to 16 describe a fresh war with the Chōḷa king, who, it is said, not only did not obey the commands of his Pāṇḍya overlord who gave him the crown, but refusing to pay the usual tribute, sent forth a large army with a vanguard against him. These were immediately put

¹ This chief figures as a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga III in the latter's 10th and 20th years of reign (No. 536 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902 and No. 115 of 1900).

² Ancient Tamil literature reveals the name of some kings that ruled over Koṅgu with their capital at Tagaḍūr. One of them was Eḷiṇi. It is interesting to note that he is styled a Kēraḷa.

³ Nos. 544, 545, 547, 552 and 565 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906 and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, paras 31 and 32.

⁴ No. 552 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, p. 116, No. 296. The inscription is dated in the 21st year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I and has the introduction *Pātala-maḡandai*.

⁶ No. 106 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

⁷ No. 555 of the same for 1905 dated in the 2nd year and Śaka 1179, and No. 578, dated in the 7th year and Śaka 1185.

⁸ *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, para. 12, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 421.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 155 and 157.

to route and many of the cavalry, elephants, chariots and infantry were cut to pieces and the field was made a feasting ground for kites and crows. After the success in this war, the Pāṇḍya king is reported to have received a *paraṇi*, a particular kind of Tamil poem, composed in honour of himself celebrating all his heroic actions. This second war with the Chōla king was no doubt conducted against Rājarāja III, for it seems to have taken place some years after the first war and at a time when Kulōttuṅga III had ceased to rule. The introduction ends saying that the Pāṇḍya king, seated along with his queen Ulagaṃuḍuḍaiyāl, was crowned in the hall at Muḍikoṇḍasōḷapuram, at all the entrances of which he had ordered golden pillars of victory to be put up.¹

A word may now be said about the second war of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōlas. The one permanent theme of the imperial Chōlas from the time of Parāntaka I down to Rājarāja III was the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya country and they had several times defeated the Pāṇḍyas in battle. As such, Rājarāja III must have felt keenly the pitiable position of owing the overlordship of, and paying tribute to the Pāṇḍya king to which he was reduced by the daring act of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I committed at the end of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. The inscription under publication, as we have already noticed, gives clear evidence that he wanted to free himself from this plight by refusing to pay the tribute and by sending a contingent of forces against the Pāṇḍya. Tamil inscriptions do not help us much to determine exactly when it was done. But it can be fixed within narrow limits from other sources as we shall see presently. The Hoysala king Narasiṃha II, who stood in the relation of father-in-law to the Chōla Rājarāja III, is said to have marched on the island of Śrīraṅgam² in about A.D. 1222 and soon after, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1224 assumed the title 'the establisher of the Chōla country'.³ This and the other claim of his that he was the thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya, shows that he was requisitioned by the Chōla king to help him against his enemy the Pāṇḍya king Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Our inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king waged a deadly war with the Chōla and caused great damage; but the fact that the Hoysala king was able to establish a new capital soon after in the Tamil country on the borders of the Chōla and Pāṇḍya territories, *i.e.*, at Kaṇṇaṇūr *alias* Vikramapura, 5 miles from Śrīraṅgam, shows that the allied forces of Narasiṃha II and Rājarāja III gained their object. Thus the second encounter of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōlas, which was more in the nature of repulsing an attack made by the latter, might be placed in the period A.D. 1222 to 1224. The earliest inscription that refers to Kaṇṇaṇūr is dated in Sarvadhārin (=A.D. 1228) and it states that Vira-Sōmēśvara was ruling at the place⁴. But as Narasiṃha's reign lasted till A.D. 1233, Kaṇṇaṇūr should have been made a Hoysala capital during his time and Vira-Sōmēśvara stationed there to guard the Chōla king from being molested. In fact we are given to understand that it was Vira-Sōmēśvara that built the new capital in the country which he had conquered by the power of his arm,⁵ showing thereby that he took an active part in the war undertaken by his father. Here we may fitly consider one other claim of Narasiṃha and of his enemy Peruṇjiṅga. While the former calls himself 'a very Janārdana in destroying the demon

¹ It must be noted that this portion is found in earlier records immediately after describing the first war with the Chōla, where its proper place is, and being almost in the form of introducing the king is bodily removed at the end of all introductions, earlier or later.

² Above, Vol. VII, p. 162.

³ *Ibid.*, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

Kaiṭabha in the form of the Kaṭava king¹, the latter is styled *Karṇāḷa-bhūpa-māna-marddana* and *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra*.² These claims are sufficient to establish the fact that the Pāṇḍya king Māraṇvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya was allied with the Pallava Peruṇjīṅga even before the latter actually assumed regal powers.

The grant portion of the inscription gives us to understand that in the 20th year and 374th day of the king's reign, when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of Maḷavarāyaṇ in the hall of the bed-chamber of the palace (or temple) at Tirunelvēli in Kīl-Vēmba-nāḍu, both the *dēvakamīs* of the temple of Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār and Śaṅkaraṇ Aḷagiyaperumāl *alias* Maḷavarāyaṇ of Kāḷaḍi, the Premier, made a request that certain lands of Kayattāṇkuruchchi, which formed part of the *jīvita* not only of the latter but also of his great grandfather Maḷavarāyaṇ, who like him held the office of the Premier, should be made tax-free and given to the temple to meet the expenses of offerings and worship to the image of Śokkaṇār which the Premier had caused to be set up in the temple: and the king complied with their request. It is worthy of note that the chief office of Premier of the country was held by Maḷavarāyaṇ and his great grandfather. In fact, some of the offices in early times were hereditary and persons appear to have been given the necessary training and education to hold them.

The geographical names that occur in the inscription are Tañjai, *i.e.*, Tanjore, Uṇḍai, *i.e.*, Uṇaiyūr,³ Āyirattali, which was also called Muḍikoṇḍasōḷapuram and of which Palaiyāru formed part,⁴ Puliyūr, *i.e.*, Chidambaram, Poṇṇamarāvati⁵ in the Pudukkottai State, Madurai, *i.e.*, Madura, Kāḷaḍi⁶ which is situated in the Travancore State, Tirunelvēli, *i.e.*, Tinnevely, Kayattāṇkuruchchi, also in the Tinnevely district, Veṭchiyūr *alias* Mummaḍi-sōḷanallūr and Śakkarapāṇinallūr among villages; and Mīḷalai-kūṇṇam, Tirumallināḍu, Kīl-Vēmba-nāḍu and Śevvirukkai-nāḍu among divisions.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [[*] Pū-maruviya Tiru-maḍandaiyum Puvi-maḍandaiyum puyatt-iruppa nā-maruviya Kalai-maḍandaiyum Jaya-maḍandaiyum nalañ-chirappa kōl-ā[r*]nda [śīpa]-ppu[li]yūñ=koḍu[ñ]-chilaiyūñ=kulaind=o[lippa] vāḷ-ā[r*]nda por-[ki]rimēl vari-kkayalgaḷ viḷaiyāḍa iruñ-kaḍal-va-
- 2 [lai]yatt-iṇid=aṇam peruga=kkaruñ-Kali kaḍindu šeñ-kōl naḍappa oru-kuḍai-niḷal⁷=iru-nilañ=kulira mū-vagai-tTamiḷu=muṇaimai[yi]l viḷaṅga nāl-vagai-Vēdamu[m*] navinṇ=uḍaṇ vaḷara aiy-vagai-vēḷviyūñ=chey-viṇaiy=iyarṇa aṇu-vagai-chchamaiyamum aḷaguḍaṇ tigala eḷu-
- 3 vagai-[ppāḍa]lum=iyaluḍaṇ parava eṇ-ḍisaiy-aḷavuñ=chakkarañ=chella=kKoṇḡaṇar Kaliṅgar Kōsalar Māluvar⁸ Śiṅgaḷar⁹ Teliṅgar Kiṇṇara[r*]¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342-B.

³ It is a suburb of Trichinopoly and the ancient capital of the Chōḷas.

⁴ This is evident from No. 72 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924 and from No. 9 of the same collection for 1926. The place is bereft of early inscriptions at present.

⁵ The inscriptions of this place are registered as Nos. 2 to 23 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

⁶ This is reputed as the birth place of Śrī-Śaṅkarāchārya and is stated to be on the bank of the Pūrṇā river in the Kēraḷa country (see Vidyāraṇya's *Śaṅkara-digvijaya*).

⁷ Read *niḷalil* as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁸ *Māḷavar* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁹ *Śiṅgaṇar* is the form in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

¹⁰ *Kiṇṇarar* may be replaced by *Śiṅar* as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, and No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

- Gujjarar Villavar Magadar Vikkalar Sembayar Pallavar muda-
liya(r) pā[r*]ttivar ellām=urāiv-iḍam=aruḷ-ēṇa oruvar-muṇṇ-oruvar muraḷ
¹muraḷ kaḍava tan-tirai²
- 4 ku[ṇa][r*]nd=iṛaiñcha ilaṅ-oli-maṇi-muḍiy-Indiraṇ pūṭṭiya polaṇ³-kadir-āram
mārviṇṇiṛ=poliya paṇi-malar⁴-rtāmarai=tTisaimugaṇ paḍaitta Maṇu-neṛi
talaippa maṇi-muḍi sūḍi=pPoṇṇi-sūl-nāṭṭu⁵=ppuliy-āṇai⁶ pōy=agala Kanni-
sūl-nāṭṭiṛ=kayaḷ-āṇai kai(y)vaḷara⁷ veñ-chiṇav-ivuliyum
- 5 vēlamum⁸ paraparappi⁹=tTaṇjaiyum=Uṇḍai[ṇ]n=chen-talaḷ koḷutti kāvi¹⁰-nīlamum
niṇṇu kavin=ilaṇṇa¹¹ āviyum=ārum=aṇi-nīr-nalaṇ¹²=aḷittu kūḍamu=mā-maḍiḷuṇ=
gōpuramum=āḍ-araṅum ¹³ māḷigaiyum maṇḍapamum pala iḍittu toḷudu=
vand-aḍaiyār nirupar-tan=tōgaiyar=aḷuda kaṇṇiṛ-āru parappi=kkaḷu-
- 6 dai-koṇḍ=u[ḷu]ḍu kavaḍi vichchi¹⁴=chChembiyaṇai=chchiṇam viriya¹⁵=pporudu
śūram¹⁶ pugav=ōṭṭi paim-poṇ-maṇi-muḍi parittu=pPāṇaṇukku=kkuḍutt-aruḷi
pāḍ-arun-chiṇṇiṛ=parudi-vāṇ=ṛōyum¹⁷=āḍaga-ppuruṣaiy¹⁸=Āyirattaliyil ¹⁹śērā-
Vaḷa[vaṇ] abhishēka-maṇḍapattu virā(a)bhishēkam paṇṇi²⁰ puga[ḷ] virittu
nāḷum
- 7 para-rāsar nāma-ttalai piḍuṅgi mīḷuṇ=ta[ru]kaṇ-mada-sāṇai²¹ mēl-koṇḍu nīr-
āḷi-vaiyya=muḷudu[m] podu[v-i]ḷitta²² kūr-āḷi[ṇ]n=cheyya-tōḷumēy²³ koṇḍu-
pōy ayyappaḍāda²⁴ [a]ru-maṇai-tēr=andaṇar vāḷ deyya-pPuliyūr=tiruv-
ellaiyu[t]=pukku²⁵ =pponn-am[ba]ḷam poliya āḍuvār pūvaiyuḍaṇ ma-

¹ The letter *mu* is written below the line.

² The letter *r* is entered at the beginning of l. 4.

³ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *purai* in place of *polan*.

⁴ Read *malar-ittā*⁵.

⁵ *Nāṭṭiṛ=puli* is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁶ *Āṇai* is the Tamil form of *ājñā* through its Prakrit equivalent. No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V has *yāṇai*, which is evidently a mistake of the engraver.

⁷ *Kayaḷ viḷaiyāḍa* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁸ The *ē*-sign of *vē* is entered at the end of line 4.

⁹ Before *parappi* the letters *para* may be taken as having been wrongly entered or read as *pār*.

¹⁰ After *kāvi*, the syllable *yum* has been omitted.

¹¹ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *iḷappa*, while No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, agrees with our text.

¹² While No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, agrees with our text, No. 300 of Vol. V has *nīlaṇ* and No. 520 of

1911 has *araṇ* meaning 'protection'.

¹³ The word *māḍamum* has been omitted before *māḷigaiyum*. Cf. Nos. 300 and 372.

¹⁴ *Vitti* is the reading in the Tiruppārkaḍal inscription. See also text-line 16, below.

¹⁵ No. 372 has *chiṇam-īriya* and No. 300 *-piriya*. No. 520 gives *-eriya*.

¹⁶ Read *śūram*.

¹⁷ It is only *rōy-āḍaga* in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

¹⁸ Read *purifai*.

¹⁹ The reading *śērāvaḷavaṇ* is clearly wrong. Note that *śērā* rhymes with *virā*, but not *śūra*.

²⁰ The word *paṇṇi* is replaced by *śeydu* in Nos. 300 and 372.

²¹ Read *yāṇai* as in No. 372.

²² Other readings of *iḷitta* are *aḷitta* (300) and *oḷitta* (No. 372).

²³ No. 300 has *mēl* for *mēy*.

²⁴ The reading *aḍaiyapaḍāda* given in No. 300 is an evident mistake.

²⁵ *Pugundu* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

- 8 $\eta\eta\text{un}=\text{tiru-mē}[nī]$ kaṇḍu ma[ṇa]ṇ=kaḷippa¹=kkōla-malar-mēl=A[ya]ṇuṇ=
kuḷir-tuḷāy-Mālum ariyā malar-chehēva[ḍi] vaṇaṇ[ga]² vāṅgu-śiraiy-annaṇ=
tuyil=oliya vaṇḍ=eluppum pūṇ-kamala-vāvi-sūl **Ponṇamarāpati**[yi]³ ott-
ulagan=tāṅgum=u[ya*]⁴r⁴-Mēruvai=kkuṇandu⁵ vaitt-aṇaiya śōdi-maṇi-maṇḍapatt=
irunti⁶
- 9 śōlai-mali paḷa-naṇ-**Chōṇāḍun**=tāṇ=ilanda⁷ mālai muḍiyun=tara⁸ varugaveṇr=
al[ai]ppa ⁹vāṇa-nilai kulaiya **Vāḷa**[giri]**kk**¹⁰=appurattu=ppōṇa Vāḷavaṇ
urimaiyudaṇ¹¹ pugundu perṇa pudalvaṇai nīṇ-pēr-eṇṇu¹² muṇ kātṭi=
veṇṇiy-ariy-aṇai-kkīl viḷundu toḷud=irappa=ttāṇ=ōḍi munṇ=¹³ilanda vemmai=
10 elāṇ¹⁴=kaiyy-agala dāṇ-¹⁵ō[u]daka[m] paṇṇi taṇ-dār-muḍi[yu]daṇē viṭṭa¹⁶ agal¹⁷
idaṇ=tan mār-vēḷaikk¹⁸=ttiliya¹⁹ iṭṭapaḍikk=eṇṇum idu piḍipāḍ-āgav-
eṇa=ppoṇgu-ti[ri]²⁰-ṇālattu=ppū-pālar toḷa²¹ viḷaṅguṇ=cheṇ-kayal-konḍ=ūṇṇun=
tirumugamum ²²paṇḍ=ilanda Chōḷapatiy-ennu[m*] nāmamun=ton-ṇagaru=mīḷa
11 vaḷaṅgi viḍai-kuḍuttu viṭṭ-aruḷi [l*] ōṇa²³-kkaḍar-pāril vēṇḍarga[lai]kk-²⁴
urraḍeṇḡaḷ²⁵ [ti]rkun²⁶=kaḍavuḷ=ivaṇ-eṇr=eṇṇi-tta[lai]y-urra=āḍaiyā[d]ār²⁷ taṇḍal-
idaḷ[yi]r=kiḷaiy-urra²⁸ muḷudun=kēṭṭ-arul eṇr=ētti²⁹ vaṇaṅgum Vāḍa-
Koṇḡaṇṇai³⁰ śiraiyum miṭṭu³¹ kaḷaṇ-kol-arun-niru³²-ttōḷ-mālai kaḷitt=el-
vaḷaṅgi-

¹ *Kalittu* is found in Nos. 300 and 372.

² Read *vaṇaṅgi* as in the other two inscriptions.

³ *Patiyil* is replaced by *patiyadaindu* in No. 520 of 1911.

⁴ *Mā* takes the place of *uyar* in No. 300.

⁵ *Koṇandu* (No. 300) and *kuṇandu* (No. 372) are other forms that occur.

⁶ Read *irundu* as in the other two inscriptions.

⁷ *Ilundu* is the reading in No. 520 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911.

⁸ *Taruga varuga* is the reading in the above.

⁹ *Māna* is another reading (No. 520 of 1911).

¹⁰ *Vāṇagirik*= is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, but it is *Vāḷagiri* in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

¹¹ Nos. 372 and 300 have *oḍum* in place of *udaṇ*. No. 520 of 1911 adds *tān* to *oḍum*.

¹² *Eṇa* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

¹³ The insertion of *ga* after *ṇi* in No. 372 is not supported by the reading of the other two inscriptions,

viz., Nos. 300 and 431.

¹⁴ Of *ye* the *e* sign is at the end of line 9 and *y* at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁵ Delete *u*.

¹⁶ *Viṭṭa* may be taken as the hardened form of *viṇḍa* adopted for metrical purposes.

¹⁷ No. 372 has *pugal*.

¹⁸ Read *vēḷukka*: No. 520 also reads *vēḷaikk*. Other inscriptions read *mārvaṇaikk* which must be corrected

into *māvaṇukku*.

¹⁹ Read *ttiriya*.

²⁰ Read *tirai*.

²¹ Read *lōḷ* as in Nos. 372 and 300.

²² The letters *pa* and *ḍi* are entered below the line.

²³ Read *ōḍa* as in No. 520 of 1911.

²⁴ Read *vēṇḍargaḷukk*.

²⁵ The reading *kkurraṅgaḷ* obtained by deleting *de* in the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, is clearly wrong. The engraver has omitted *v* between the *e* sign and *d* of *de*. This supplied, the reading would be *urraṇ-ēḍaṅgaḷ*. It is to be noted that *ēḍa* rhymes with *ōḍa*.

²⁶ Read *tirkkun*.

²⁷ No. 520 of 1911 has *āḍaiyār* for *āḍaiyādār*.

²⁸ Read *urraṇa*.

²⁹ In place of *eṇr-ētti* No. 520 has *eṇa-kkai*.

³⁰ Read *Koṇḡaṇṇai* as in No. 520 of 1911 instead of *koṇḡa(ṇ)ṇai* of the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V. The text may also be read *Koṇḡaṇṇaṇ*.

³¹ There seem to be mistakes in the passage immediately following *miṭṭu*.

³² Read *tiru*.

- 12 y-aruliya piṇ[n*]=oru-nāl maṇṇ-āra-muḷaṅgu muraśa=kkaḍaṇ-ṛāṇai-[muṇ] pugundu
Teṇ-Koṅga[n*] vand=iṭṭa deṇḍaṇukku miṇ-poṅga-chchāṇdiya¹ ābaraṇan=
takkad-e[ṇa] vaḷaṅgi ā[ṛā]da² peru-naṇbiṇ³=avaṇ śiraiyu=miṭṭu Tirumāl⁴
yiru⁵-maruṅgu Śāṇḍira-Śūriya[r*] śevikka šeṇ-kaṭ-karu[mā]l-kali[kki]ṛil⁶
varu-Muṭkaṭ⁷-kaḍavuḷ-eṇa māḍa-Maduraiyir-
- 13 tāṇ pōndu [pu]vaṇi[yi]lē *kūḍa-iru-Koṅgarai[yuṇ]=ku[m]biḍu-koṇḍa[varkku] tollai-
ppuvi[kku]m=iṇaṅgāmaṇ=tāṇ⁸=choṇṇa ellaikku=ṇiṛpa isaiṇḍiṭṭu peṇpa¹⁰-kkonḍ-
ivaṇṇu¹¹ śeyyāḍ=oliyil iyamakku¹² veṇ¹³-vēl-virund=ākkudu[m=u]maiy-eṇa
viṭṭ-aruli muṇṇa[m*] namakku muḍi-vaḷaṅgu[n*]=[chē]vaḍi-kkiḷ iṇṇa-
- 14 m vaḷipaḍuvōm=enṇādu piṇ[n=o]ru-nāl kāva[la]nadu Puṇa[1*]-nāḍ-e[n*]puṇ=
kaiyāl=eṇal=edir-śellāḍ¹⁴=iṛai maṇṭutta Seṇṇi viḍu tūsiyum pēr-aṇiyum
[okka-chchu]ruṇḍ=oduṅgi vāsiyum vāraṇamum tērum=aḍaṇ-karu[va]-kkā-
lāṇum¹⁵ veṭṭ-unṇa=kkaṇ[n-i*]raṇḍu-mayaṇ[ga-k]kaiy-[k*]koṇḍu¹⁶ vēlā-valaiyattu
viḷnd=avaṇ pōy mey
- 15 naḍuṅga a[m]b-arundum=ā[r*]tta-kaḍal-maṇḍalikaṇ¹⁷-uḍal vem-parund¹⁸-uṇ[ṇa] a-
kkaḷattil āṇaiyṇ veṇ-maruppuṇ=kaiyyuṇ=ku[n]raitt-eṇgaḷ Miṇavaṇku pāl-
kuḍam-ām=eṇṇu tāṇ vīrar-kōṇ¹⁹ [m]āga-mugaḍu taḍavi maḷai maḍu-
kkum kāga-neḍum-pandaṇ d-āḍalum kūgaiyum pāḍaluṇ=
kaṇḍum kēṭṭuṇ-kalitta ḍḍal-karuṇ-kūn-
- 16 dal vell-eyiṇil śevvāy periya śulakkavalli²⁰ pali kolga eṇa vāḷtti veṇ-
ṇu²¹ vagaiyil migaiy=oliya vēndalaṇ=kkonṇu²² śiṇan=taṇiyā=kkor-
ṇava²³=neḍu-vāl uyaṇku šeṇ-kurudi-nīr=itt=oli-śeydu tegu-pulattu veṇ-
kavaḍi²⁴ vitta vīra-muḷud=eḍuttu=ppāḍum paraṇi taṇ pār-vēndar kēṭ-
pikka āḍun=tirumaṇ-

¹ Read *chāṭṭiyu*.² *Yāṭṭa* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.³ *Naṭpill* is the reading in the above.⁴ The metrical line commencing with *Tirumāl* occurs as under in No. 520 of 1911. "*Tirumālu-Nāṇ-mugaṇṇu=chēvikka=chcheṇ-kaṭ*."⁵ Read *iru*.⁶ Read *kaḷiṛil*.⁷ Read *Muṭkaṭ*.⁸ This has been read as *kūṭṭuk* by mistake in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 431.⁹ Read *ṛāṇ*.¹⁰ There seems to be an engraver's mistake here which is not apparent. Perhaps *m=ēṇpa-kkonḍ* or *mēṇkonḍ* is intended.¹¹ Read *ivvāṇu*.¹² Read *Iyamaṇukku*.¹³ Read *vev-vēl*.¹⁴ Another variant is *koḷḷāḍ* (No. 520 of 1911).¹⁵ Read *kāl-āḷum*.¹⁶ Instead of *kkaṇ-iraṇḍu* *kkaiy-kkonḍu*, No. 520 of 1911 has *kaṇḍu bayaṇ-konḍu* which is metrically a better reading.¹⁷ *n-kuḍal* is a variant (No. 520 of 1911).¹⁸ The metrical line *vem-parund*, etc., *-kuḷattil* is better expressed in No. 520 of 1911 which gives the reading *vem-parundum pēyum virund-unṇa akkuḷattu*. It is clear from this that there is an omission of *m-pēyum virund* in our text.¹⁹ No. 520 of 1911 gives the variant *tam vīran-iḷ* for *tāṇ vīrar-kōṇ*.²⁰ *Śulakkavalli* is replaced by *śulattai vēl* in No. 520 of 1911.²¹ For *veṇṇu vagaiyil* No. 520 has *veṇṇum pagaiyaṇ*.²² Read *konṇum*.²³ The syllable *va* is omitted in No. 520 of 1911.²⁴ *Kaḍaḍi* is synonymous with *uṇṇā-varagu* and *veḷ-varagu* (*Puṇḍarīk*, VI. 26).

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